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Bogachev: Nuclear Test Ban Remains 'Elusive'

LD2009134490 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The U.S. House of Representatives has declared for an immediate resumption of Soviet-American talks on a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests.

The amendment to the bill on military appropriations, adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives on Tuesday by 234 votes against 182, states that the United States should inform the Soviet Union of its intention to resume the bilateral talks on nuclear weapon tests. These talks could quickly lead to a treaty for a verifiable comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests.

The complete ban on nuclear testing would be the simplest and most effective measure for arms control.

The world community is faced with the task of reducing and eliminating nuclear arms stockpiles and of looking for the ways to prevent the replenishment of nuclear arsenals. Nuclear tests speed up the arms race. Their termination would stop the creation of new systems of weapons of mass destruction and would prevent upgrading old systems.

The Soviet Union more than once stated its readiness for any negotiations that would promote a universal and complete ban on nuclear explosions. It is prepared to take any measures that would help achieve a mutually acceptable solution.

Moscow, for instance, proposed lowering the yields of test explosions and the maximum number of tests per year. For 18 months, from August 1985 through February 1987, the Soviet Union has been observing a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, urging the United States to follow suit.

The Soviet Union is prepared to resume a moratorium on nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis with the United States. The Soviet Union has already substantially cut its programme of nuclear testing. There have been no nuclear explosions at Soviet test ranges for about a year.

There are now particularly favourable conditions for settling the question of nuclear tests. The cold war is fading into the past. The main obstacles with which the U.S. justified its refusal to agree to complete a ban on nuclear explosions have been eliminated.

Washington should no longer be concerned about problems involved in verifying the observance of a ban on explosions. The Soviet Union is prepared to accept any verification procedure. The Soviet Union and the United States have accumulated vast experience in monitoring arms control agreements. Experiments by Soviet and American specialists to verify yields of nuclear explosions were a success.

Many leaders of Western countries and numerous public organisations the world over now declare for a complete ban on nuclear testing.

Meanwhile the talks in Geneva have approached a stage where their further progress is complicated by differences in the final goals pursued by the sides. The Soviet Union sees the main task to be banning tests, while the U.S. side only seeks to work out measures to monitor their continuation. Spokesman for the U.S. State Department Paul Robinson recently said that tests ensure the reliability of nuclear arms, while nuclear arms ensure stability in the world. An end to nuclear explosions remains elusive.

Is not it time for the U.S. Administration to relate its stance on nuclear testing to present-day realities?

Removal of Chemical Weapons From FRG Welcomed

PM2109102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Farewell to Arms. U.S. Military Toxins Removed From FRG"]

[Excerpts] Bonn, 19 Sep—Two large U.S. transport ships left Nordenham at the mouth of the Weser River last night on the long trip to the Johnston Atoll in the Pacific. In their holds are special containers with 102,000 artillery shells primed with combat toxins.

Thus, all U.S. chemical weapons have been withdrawn from the FRG. Because there are no such weapons in the GDR, the forthcoming unification of Germany will not be burdened by the problem of chemical weapons.

As is well known, these shells were stored at U.S. Army stockpiles in the Rhineland palatinate. [passage omitted]

The withdrawal of U.S. chemical weapons from the FRG is undoubtedly a notable practical step along the road to banning and scrapping these means of warfare and ridding Europe and the world of the potential threat they pose. The 102,000 shells are to be destroyed on Johnston Atoll.

Warsaw Pact Interim Commission Concludes Meeting

LD2009140590 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko]

[Text] Sofia September 20 TASS—A meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Interim Commission has ended here. The commission was instructed to work out a new concept for the organisation.

The next round of talks will be held in Hungary in October. Participants decided not to publish information on the agreements reached, before the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee meets in Budapest.

Warsaw Pact Disarmament Talks in Prague Slated

LD2009183290 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Prague September 20 TASS—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry reported today that a Warsaw Treaty special commission on disarmament at the level of deputy foreign ministers would hold a meeting in Prague on September 22-23.

It will be a continuation of the Bratislava meeting of this commission which was held in the Slovak capital on September 10-11.

IAEA Continues Assistance in Wake of Chernobyl

PM2009130390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent S. Tosunyan: "What Is Bothering the IAEA"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—How can the maximum safety of nuclear installations be ensured? How can cooperation among states on the peaceful use of nuclear power best be implemented? The 34th session of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] General Conference, which opened 17 September in Vienna, is devoted to discussing these questions and a number of others. Specialists and scientists from more than 90 world countries, including the Soviet Union, are taking part in the session. [passage omitted]

The IAEA is making considerable efforts to help our country to eliminate the aftermath of the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Several groups of specialists have visited the accident areas and have analyzed the soil, water, and vegetation there.

Now agreement has been reached between the IAEA leadership and the Soviet delegation taking part in the meeting on a visit by a large group of world-renowned foreign scientists to the Soviet Union to carry out research work at the Pripyat scientific center.

Perez de Cuellar Names Chernobyl Research Team

LD1909194690 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations September 19 TASS—In the end of September, a U.N. mission will head for the districts in the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Russian Federation that suffered from the Chernobyl disaster, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said on Wednesday.

The mission, led by executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe Gerald Hinteregger, will visit the Soviet Union in accordance with the decision of the session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council on the international cooperation in cleaning up the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

The delegation will comprise representatives from the office of the U.N. Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, the U.N. Environment Programme, the U.N. Commission on Human Settlements, the U.N. Children's Fund, the U.N. Department in Vienna and the U.N. Department of Technical Cooperation for Development.

The results of the mission's work and the information of measures taken by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the World Health Organisation and the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, will be included in a report the U.N. secretary-general will submit to the 45th General Assembly session.

Petrovskiy Outlines UN Assembly's Major Concerns

PM2009122190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

["Speech by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy at Meeting With the Press," place and date not given: "UN General Assembly Session Opens"]

[Text] The United Nations is the central forum for multilateral diplomacy. Sessions of its General Assembly, which traditionally open on the third Tuesday in September—18 September this year—are called upon to sum up the political results of the year and to map out guidelines for the future.

First: The main thing that distinguishes this session from the previous ones is the unique situation in the world. Complications are accompanying the entry into a period of peace. Today the specter of destabilization has emerged in the Near East, tomorrow it may arise somewhere else. Nevertheless, mankind believes in the possibility of making peace permanent. After having unanimously advocated in November 1989, on the initiative of the USSR and the United States, an end to confrontation and cold war, the United Nations now has the opportunity to engage in creative work.

The symbolism of the new at the present session is very significant. [sentence as published] On the evening of 2 October there will be the nameplates of two German states in the General Assembly auditorium, on 3 October there will be just one (officially the FRG, and the Germans ask that it be called Germany for short). The number of UN members will remain the same, however—160—since Liechtenstein will be admitted to the United Nations. Cambodia's UN place is now to pass to the SNC, Cambodia's newly formed Supreme National Council.

The 45th session is called upon to consolidate the emergence of the United Nations into a **post-confrontational** space. The parameters of this space are:

—universal recognition of the need for collective action; understanding of the impossibility for any one country not only of "leading the world" but also of achieving success on its own even on individual problems;

—the preferability of political solutions and the primacy of international law;

—reliance on multilateral mechanisms, full utilization of the potential of the Security Council and its five permanent members, and the improvement of existing security structures and creation of new ones.

Of course, adaptation to the new realities is not easy. It must be frankly admitted that some of the "Third World" has grown accustomed to living in conditions of East-West confrontation and is having difficulty in renouncing these conditions, which were in a way comfortable for it. We will consistently proceed from our new vision of the "Third World." For us it is no longer

a geopolitical springboard for confrontation between the two systems, and regional conflicts—as E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker declared at the meeting in Irkutsk—have been finally removed from the plane of superpower rivalry. At the same time we understand that the problems that primarily perturb the developing countries—overcoming hunger, poverty, mass epidemics, serious diseases, and the crisis disproportions in the development of various parts of the world—are the common concerns of all UN member states. At the session we will aim for global cooperation which excludes both East-West and North-South confrontation.

In general, we see the specific role and, as it were, the overriding task of the General Assembly session as being to ensure harmony among regional processes, to prevent the emergence of new contradictions, and to ensure progress toward a stable world order via consensus.

Second. The work schedule will be tight. The general debate, where states will formulate at a high political level their principled vision of the immediate tasks of world policy, will begin 24 September. A routine meeting of the foreign ministers of the 35 CSCE member states is scheduled for 1-2 October in New York. There will be meetings within the framework of other regional groupings. Thus E.A. Shevardnadze will meet with representatives of the 12 EC states, and also the states of the Latin American Rio de Janeiro grouping. There will be intensive contacts among delegation heads; we are already planning around 40 such conversations. There will also be a major humanitarian event—a summit-level meeting devoted to children's problems.

Finally, the "material product" of the session will be its resolutions, on which intensive work will proceed for over two months in the General Assembly's main committees.

Third. The session agenda comprises over 150 questions covering the entire spectrum of world problems—military-political, environmental, humanitarian. Last year two-thirds of the resolutions were adopted by consensus, which indicates the increased compatibility between member states' positions.

The practicality of the resolutions is also increasing. Our delegation will attach special importance to those resolutions which may have a positive effect with regard to our economic and social problems. The discussion of questions of providing international aid in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident will continue. The session will be a new stage in the coordination of international humanitarian action on Chernobyl. It will examine the UN secretary general's report on this topic. A special mission of UN experts will arrive in the USSR in a few days within the framework of the preparation of the report. Thus we will seek to ensure that the jubilee 45th General Assembly session is marked not so much by declarations as by real action.

In turn, this opens up an opportunity for directly implementing UN decisions in national practice. We, like other states, intend increasingly to translate General Assembly resolutions into the language of USSR laws. And to this end we are going to organize "feedback" between the United Nations and the country's Supreme Soviet and the republics' parliaments. Incidentally, all Union republics have been invited to take part in the Soviet delegation at the session, and groups of USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies are also visiting the United Nations.

Fourth. We expect weighty new decisions from the General Assembly. Taken together, they will firmly enshrine the emergence of the United Nations onto a plateau of cooperation.

The session will vigorously continue the process that has begun of the **demilitarization** of international relations. In this sense it is important to ensure that it helps to build up the existing momentum in the settlement of regional conflicts, in channeling them toward political solutions, and in lowering the level of military confrontation in various parts of the world.

A promising direction is UN cooperation with regional organizations for the maintenance of security. The reliability of peace is increased if they complement each other. The USSR and U.S. idea—you have probably noted it—of creating new regional security structures in the Persian Gulf region in the future is also no accident.

There will be no decrease in the attention paid to **disarmament** problems. The main aim here is for disarmament to globally embrace all categories of weapons and to ensure that all countries, including the developing countries, contribute to arms reductions.

Special emphasis at the session will be placed on the transition to the prohibition of nuclear tests and on nonproliferation in all its dimensions—nuclear, chemical, and missile.

The United Nations is elaborating a ramified system of international standards of openness in the military sphere. At the session the USSR will submit data regarding its military budget in accordance with the standardized accounting system adopted in the United Nations. We are also taking part in elaborating under UN auspices an international register of conventional arms sales and deliveries.

The process of the renewal of the United Nations also involves growing recognition of the value of the advanced standards established by the United Nations in **the economy, the environment, and the human rights sphere.** Thus an international exchange of experience which helps everyone—ourselves included, of course—to arrive at the optimum domestic solutions is being carried out within the United Nations.

The session will be a key stage in preparing the conference on the environment and development planned for 1992 in Brazil. In order to make thorough preparations for this forum, it is necessary to coordinate specific spheres of global conservation cooperation and to elaborate effective strategies for transferring the national economies of all countries—including our own—to an environmentally safe footing. And also to determine adequate sources of finance, which is especially difficult.

A proposal from the USSR for creating a center for urgent environmental assistance under the United Nations will be "on the table" in the General Assembly auditorium. This initiative is considered and serious; lists of the Soviet scientists who can be sent by such a center to environmental disaster areas have already been handed to the UN secretary general.

To prevent violations of human rights and to monitor their rectification in cases where such violations have nevertheless occurred—these UN priorities are certainly consonant with the tasks of democratizing Soviet society. And we intend to firmly maintain in the United Nations the line of the need to apply the whole complex of individual rights and freedoms everywhere.

The United Nations has proclaimed the nineties the decade of international law. The program for this decade, which will be elaborating during the General Assembly session, will be a coordinated concept for establishing the **primacy of law** in interstate relations.

UN Seminar on Drug Smuggling Opens in Moscow

PM2009150190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 First Edition p 6

[Report by TASS correspondent N. Demidov: "International Seminar"]

[Text] The international seminar "Fighting Drug Smuggling in Transit" opened in Moscow 18 September. It is being held under the auspices of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC).

"It is no coincidence that the seminar is being held in Moscow," V. Boyarov, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration of State Customs Control, said. "The USSR is one of the biggest drug transit countries. The 'migration' of drugs through the Soviet Union from Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America has intensified recently—the drugs mafia is seeking roundabout ways to deliver the narcotics to Europe to replace those already known to the special services."

Balkan Deputy Foreign Ministers' Forum Reported

PM2109085190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Volodin: "Dialogue in Balkans"]

[Text] Bucharest—The latest working meeting of the Balkan "Six," in which the deputy foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Romania took part, has ended in Bucharest. Romania, which on this occasion was the host country, was represented at the talks by R. Neagu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the government cabinet.

From the way in which Bucharest vigorously initiated the talks, which lasted three days, many journalists and even some members of the delegations formed the impression that Romania had tried at the meeting to make a serious claim to leadership in the Balkan dialogue. At the opening of the session Romanian Foreign Minister A. Nastase advanced a package of initiatives called the "Iliescu proposals."

On the basis of the fundamental changes which have taken place in Europe and in particular in the Balkans, the Romanian side suggested lending new impetus to the cooperation process, creating a forum to safeguard security and cooperation in the Balkans. Within the framework of the forum, alongside economic and scientific and technical cooperation which, A. Nastase noted, has so far failed to produce tangible results, humanitarian problems could be resolved, including those of the protection of human rights and freedoms, which would ultimately help the integration of the inter-Balkan process to maintain peace and stability in the all-European process.

Proceeding from the premise that the elimination of totalitarian regimes in Romania and Bulgaria, the orientation toward general human values, the desire for democracy, and the transition to a market economy open up prospects for the further rapprochement of the Balkan "Six," Romania suggested creating a single system of inter-Balkan consultations, including on military-political matters, and also holding meetings of defense ministers and chiefs of staff of the states of the peninsula.

It is most notable that the package of Romanian initiatives contained a proposal which could become the key to the solution of the national minority problems so painful to the Balkan countries. Formerly the participants in meetings tried to keep them outside the framework of talks. Yet the events in the Balkans show that sooner or later these problems have to be resolved. A research institute for problems of ethnic groups and national minorities, whose institution Romania proposed, could help this.

The participants in the Bucharest meeting treated the "Iliescu proposals" in different ways. For instance, Yugoslavia believes that the problem of national minorities cannot be resolved within the framework of regional dialogue. The Bulgarian delegation suggested refraining from putting forward new initiatives, concentrating efforts on fulfilling what has been achieved previously. As a result the meeting's final document, which contains

a working plan for further measures by the "Six," did not reflect a single one of Romania's proposals.

Nor did it include the reminder, proposed by the hosts, that the Bucharest meeting took place on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the first Balkan conference in Athens. I think that what was at work here was the participants' caution, generated by the historical memory of past contradictions which have frequently developed into military conflicts. It should not be forgotten that in the form in which it exists now the process of the Balkans' transformation into a zone of peace and trust goes back only to the 1988 Belgrade conference. Obviously not enough time has past to definitively thaw the centuries-old ice of distrust.

The meeting in Bucharest was of a preparatory nature prior to the session of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers to be held in a month in Tirana. I believe that Romania's proposals will be heard again there. This is indicated by the draft agenda for the meeting in the Albanian capital, where there will be a discussion of "ideas and proposals for the expansion of cooperation in the Balkans in the spirit of the all-European process."

United States & Canada

U.S. Law, Economic Cooperation Meeting Continues

International Law Viewed

LD2009161190 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishviliy and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow 20 September TASS—Procedures for settling trade contract disputes, legal aspects of environmental protection, minority rights and the role of lawyers in restricting weapon sales to Third World countries were among the problems discussed today by participants in the Soviet-American conference on law and economic cooperation.

One issue of permanent concern for Soviet and American jurists is the incorporation of international law into domestic legislation.

According to the vice-president of the Soviet Lawyers' Association, Igor Blishchenko, the supremacy of international law, accepted in the Soviet Union at the outset of perestroyka, has no alternative, because it is an ultimate expression of the modern interdependent world.

The Soviet Union's efforts to make its domestic regulatory enactments in the humanitarian sphere fully consistent with international law were discussed by Nikolay Smirnov, a deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's directorate for humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

He told the conference that the bills on emigration from and immigration into the Soviet Union and the freedom of conscience and religious organisations had been finalised in parliamentary committees and commissions. They will be considered in second readings at the current fourth session of the Soviet parliament.

Smirnov reminded American colleagues that the United States has ratified only eight out of 23 international human right conventions.

He said the ratification of other major international documents by the United States would be important in making these documents universal in character.

Another subject discussed at the conference today was the role of jurists in the implementation of the arms control treaty and in drawing up new agreements.

Soviet and American lawyers agreed that concluding treaties between the two superpowers was no longer sufficient. Professor John Barton of Stanford University Law School, stressed that it was very important to create new institutions to ensure control over compliance with international agreements, as well as to pay attention to adjusting cooperation between non-governmental organisations and maintaining regular contacts between respective committees of the Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress.

Ryzhkov on Economic Concerns

LD2009130290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by station special correspondent Yulia Cherkova in Moscow at Soviet-U.S. conference on problems of law and economic cooperation; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Soviet-U.S. conference on problems of law and economic cooperation is in progress in Moscow. It was organized by the USSR Union of Lawyers, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the U.S. Center for International Cooperation. The proposal to stage such a conference came from the U.S. nongovernmental organization People to People, which has as its honorary chairman U.S. President George Bush. The U.S. delegation includes some 1,000 businessmen, including former U.S. Presidents Carter and Ford. Our special correspondent Yulia Cherkova asked Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to share his thoughts about the conference. Let us listen to this.

[Ryzhkov] We will do all we can to acquaint ourselves to some extent with the work of the U.S. lawyers. If one is to speak about the transition to the market, in my view our infrastructure is very weak. And so, when I keep putting forth my position at the Supreme Soviet, it does not always gain support. However, I firmly believe that, all the same, we must proceed in a moderately cautious way, and not because I do not want to do this very quickly in the country. Perhaps of all the leaders I would like it all to be done quickly, but I simply know what things are really like. Part of this is that I believe many aspects concerning this infrastructure—that is, creating conditions for the transition to the market—have very weak legal support, very weak for transition.

Just look: We set up cooperatives two years ago. It appeared to be a good thing. It was the first step toward the market. But it was not organized; it was not reinforced properly with a legal base, and today we have very many negative tendencies. So, the legal foundation for transition to the market must be very serious, and I think that this conference will give us the opportunity to properly consider and really create a very strong foundation based on legal principles.

When Mr. Rogers spoke just now, I think that he was right when he said: You are making the transition to the market; you are making the transition to what is essentially a new system in economic and social respects, and the legal basis must be very strong. In our country, in my view, this is all very poorly constructed. First, I would take the U.S. laws, which very precisely regulate all economic life. I think that without the laws, we cannot

do it. That is the first thing. Second, without hestitation I would take small-scale enterprise, because all the rest needs a great deal of time. Do not think that that will happen in a year or in two years' time. And naturally one has to change people's mentality. Look, Mr. Rogers made a speech on the rostrum today and he spoke about money and profits, didn't he? It would seem, that today....

[Cherkova] We find that something to be ashamed of.

[Ryzhkov] The Americans are brought up this way from their early years, and so, he stands on the rostrum and speaks about profit. You understand, I did not mention the word profit, but not because I did not want to or was afraid to. All the same, the Americans have 200 years of life experience in a federal state. They have been through shocks. And we need nonetheless to exchange opinions yet again, take a look, and think how the legal principles of a federal state have been shaped in their country. You know that today not eveything is fine in this respect. Centrifugal forces are developing in the country. In my opinion, the fact that republican laws take priority over union laws will not benefit normal life in the country. Therefore, one must consider very seriously, take a look, and familiarize oneself with the way that this system is organized in their country; all the same, at some point we must have a clear and precise picture here. Otherwise, a village soviet—with all due respect to them—will be above, for example, the highest bodies of administration in the country, and so the country will be ungovernable.

So, some laws were adopted two or three months ago, for example, the law on profits and so on, then three months later we say they are no good. If there is going to be such legislative nihilism, passing laws and then two months later saying they are no good, we will never stop. So we have to respect the old laws, insofar as they have not become outdated; if life demands amendments, they must be amended, and new laws have to be created.

[Cherkova] Could you tell me please, in our country there exists such a practice that even those elected by the people, peoples deputies who have gained power, put pressure, or try to put pressure, on the courts, on the militia, and on similar defenders of the law. Moreover, it is not those old bureaucrats who forced the country into such a situation, but newly elected democratic representatives who in the same way have these telephone rights [pozvonochnoye pravo].

[Ryzhkov] No one should put pressure on either the court or other legal bodies.

[Cherkova] We end up with a paradox.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, a paradox.

[Cherkova] Previously we made a telephone call, now at rallies we shout down with the court.

[Ryzhkov] Not only by telephone, but also very many other ways. Papers of all kinds from deputies say we demand that so-and-so not be touched. At the end of the day there is the court, and it must resolve these issues. I believe that such a substituttion of one thing for another does not help. It must be stopped. One must do what one is supposed to, and the court must do what it is supposed to.

[Cherkova] Nikolay Ivanovich, we have spent 200 years banging our heads against a wall, and for another five years we have been doing the same thing. We are still banging our heads in the same places. The struggle against alcoholism, interethnic problems—all that they have already had we are repeating. To what extent will we follow the Americans and fuss around the same places in the same way?

[Ryzhkov] I believe we have to think all these questions through in a proper fashion. Sometimes with good intentions we adopt decisions, and we consider that everything will be fine; then it turns out in a totally different way. Take the campaign against alcohol: Did we not know how that would end? When this issue was being discussed, I was not yet prime minister at the time. But then I said: Was not the experience of Canada, or rather the United States and Canada and other European countries, such as Sweden, where there was prohibition enough for us, that it would turn out badly, that there would be moonshine and a black market? Nevertheless, it was decided to immediately, and at one fell swoop, to fight the evil that has been in people's blood for thousands of years. We got our fingers burned. I believe that this is taking things too far.

Issue of U.S. Base Closings Gains Importance

Signals Shift in Relations

LD2009132190 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Pentagon has announced its decision to close 127 U.S. military facilities abroad over the next several years and to reduce the numerical strength at 23 more bases. The decision will apply to U.S. military facilities in West Germany, Spain, South Korea, Greece, Italy, Great Britain, Australia, Japan, Canada and the Bermudas.

The U.S. Defence Department explains that these measures were necessitated by budget cuts and the reduced risk of an armed conflict with the Soviet Union. However, other factors should also be considered when assessing the impact of changes in the U.S. military presence abroad on the overall climate of international relations.

Addressing members of the Air Force Association in Washington, U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney emphasised the importance of maintaining "continuity" in the structure of the U.S. Armed Forces. He believes it is necessary to preserve the U.S. might and resolve to

ensure an active presence in the world under any conditions. Peace and stability will depend on the presence and potential of the U.S. forces, the Pentagon chief asserted.

The tasks set for the U.S. military abroad will remain almost the same as at the height of the cold war, even after the U.S. militry bases are reduced.

The Pentagon apparently concluded that previous goals of projecting force in remote areas can be achieved in present conditions with smaller outlays.

As regards U.S. military bases abroad, Cheney's reference to the need to shift emphasis in the U.S. military plans from global war against the Soviet Union to "regional versions" are not convincing.

The Soviet Union is withdrawing troops from adjoining countries, but the U.S. is preserving hundreds of large military bases on the perimeter of the Soviet Union's territory, far away from U.S. coasts.

A few days ago, the United States received permission from Turkey to use its military facilities, including a major Air Force base at Incirlik. Washington is striving to preserve its large naval bases on the Philippines as long as possible.

The U.S. military facilities to be closed include only three large Air Force bases—in West Germany and Spain. The other military facilities that are being closed are auxiliary facilities—training ranges, warehouses, barracks, garages, etc. Moreover, the U.S. airbase at Torrejon is not being scrapped. It is simply being transferred from Spain to Italy, closer to Soviet territory.

Senator Sam Nunn recently proposed reducing U.S. forces on foreign territories, offset by a simultaneous build-up of "forward based" units. This idea is apparently the basic idea of the Pentagon's plans to reduce foreign military bases.

So the reduction of U.S. armaments in one area will apparently be made up for with the build-up of U.S. military might in another.

Manila Protesters on Bases

HK2009054190 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] A series of demonstrations welcomed the resumption of the bases talks in Manila. Students and workers protested in front of the U.S. Embassy in Roxas Boulevard. The demonstrators demanded the withdrawal of the military bases.

Earlier, it was inconceivable for Manila and Washington to discuss the closure of the bases. But, when the talks started, both panels tackled the issue of bases withdrawal. In a television broadcast President Corazon Aquino said that the main focus of the talks is the gradual withdrawal of the military bases. Other issues in the agenda are the closure of Clark Air Base in December 1991, the year that the bases treaty ends; and that Subic Naval Base will be allowed to stay for three more years.

Washington favors the gradual bases withdrawal and this was expressed by Richard Armitage, chief negotiator of the U.S. panel, during the start of the talks. The United States hopes that the withdrawal will be carried out over a long period, such that it will take 12 years, so as not to severely affect the Philippines' economy. On the other hand, THE WASHINGTON POST published that the United States is ready to withdraw its bases from the Philippines on condition that they can return whenever necessary, without strings attached, and that the facilities will be used for commercial purposes.

The financial aspect of the talks is said to greatly affect the decision by both panels. Reports say that Manila depends on the $600 million annual revenue from the bases' rent. But whatever price is attached as rent, only one thing will take place in the future, the U.S. military bases in the Philippines will eventually close down. President Aquino said that changes in the status of the military bases would be an important phase in the Philippine history. Although the bases have some significance, this will not hold true for all time. With this statement the Aquino leadership shows that the government's stand on the U.S. military presence in the country has changed. According to U.S. newspapers, the military bases are perceived by the Filipinos as arms of the United States to control the Philippines and this is an obstacle to the country's sovereignty. This view is gaining support in the Philippines; i.e., the bases are no longer needed. Thus, as the talks commenced, both panels proposed unexpected terms, such as the bases closure.

Bush To End 'Big Stick' Policy in Latin America

PM2009120790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Kozhukhov: "Bush's Plan for Latin America: End of the 'Big Stick'?"]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro—"He does not seem to be joking all the same"—that was, roughly speaking, the reaction in Brazil to the news that late last week "Bush's plan for Latin America" began to move from the realm of good intentions down to earth with all its imperfections, to the sphere of specific decisions.

The U.S. President ratified and handed to the Congress a bill regulating his June initiative—the plan to set up a free-trade zone from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, the establishment of an investment fund with capital of $1.5 billion for the countries of the continent, and "forgiveness" for some of their external debt, in other words of $7.1 billion out of the $48 billion which Latin American countries owed the U.S. Government.

This last component of G. Bush's initiative naturally aroused the greatest interest in Brazil, where people make no secret of their hopes of transferring the debts remaining after the write-off to the sphere of investment—to development and environmental conservation projects.

As for the investment fund for all Latin America, which will be used to maintain privatization and private enterprise programs, this part of the Bush package has caused great skepticism here. The $1.5 billion that will be collected by the powers that be over the next five years and put in the Inter-American Development Bank vaults is but a drop in the boundless ocean of Latin American problems which are never-ending. The fight against poverty, terrorism, the drugs mafia, and chronic economic imbalance all require considerably larger expenditure.

"The United States will not lose sight of our continent's gigantic potential in the hope that this will enable the Western Hemisphere to become the world's first democratic hemisphere," the U.S. President pointed out during the signing ceremony in the White House.

However, this aspect also causes doubts among the continent's political specialists. People here do not rule out the probability of the Bush plan having emerged largely in the domestic political interests of the United States itself and being a reaction to the creation of a United Europe—an event which is in itself recarving the world economic map.

The creation of a "united America" promises to be a far longer and more complex business. Looked at from Europe it seems to be a united continent, but a closer examination shows Latin America to be an extremely ill-assorted conglomerate of states that are perhaps united only by geography and a common history.

How then are we to account for the Latin Americans' largely benevolent reaction to G. Bush's initiative?

Observers here share the opinion that, despite all the plan's negative aspects, it does nonetheless herald a fundamentally new element in Washington's Latin American policy—a readiness for dialogue without the notorious "gunboats" and "big sticks" which it used quite recently in resolving problems to the south of the Rio Grande. Let us hope that the probable results of the U.S. President's initiative will prove better than modest in the foreseeable future.

Yakovlev, Primakov Confer With AP Officials

LD2009140890 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Soviet Presidential Council members Aleksandr Yakovlev and Yevgeniy Primakov met visiting ASSOCIATED PRESS board members and executives in the Kremlin today.

The candid, informal exchanges focused on Soviet perestroyka and the transition to a market-driven system in the USSR.

Concentrating on the current critical juncture of Soviet economic reform, Yakovlev said that the people are aware of the need to transfer the economy onto a market footing, but the specific ways of how this can be done have been the subject of sharp debates in parliament and among the public.

Yakovlev also discussed ethnic problems and new relations between the centre and the republics.

Primakov, for his part, paid most attention to the state and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations. He noted the success of the first stage of normalising bilateral relations, when tough confrontation gave way to mutual understanding and cooperation.

It is essential to consolidate and broaden these relations and impart even greater dynamism to them, Primakov said. He stressed the special role of news organisations in promoting the principles of new political thinking.

U.S. Warships End Visit to Vladivostok

PM2009134190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Captain First Class V. Shirokov: "'We Love Vladivostok'"]

[Text] 14 September—The official visit to Vladivostok by a detachment of U.S. warships comprising the cruiser Princeton and the frigate Reuben James under the flag of Admiral Charles R. Larson, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, is over. At a reception on the eve of the end of the visit, Adm. Larson was symbolically registered with the USSR Pacific Fleet and presented with a ceremonial naval dagger. Admiral G. Khvatov was symbolically registered with the U.S. Navy's submarine service and presented with the relevant insignia.

During the final moments of the visit thousands of city residents and visitors came to the banks of Zolotoy Rog Bay to bid farewell to the foreign guests. Suddenly a huge banner appeared near the wheelhouse of the U.S. flagship—the cruiser Princeton. Facing the shore, it read "We love Vladivostok." A brass band started playing in response. Flowers and souvenirs were thrown onto the ship. At the farewell ceremony Adm. G. Khvatov and Adm. C. Larson exchanged hats. This symbolic ceremony prompted exclamations of approval and tumultuous applause from the people who were seeing the U.S. ships off.

China

Soviet Trade Fair Opens in Beijing

PM2009132590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Report by V. Kulikov and Ye. Yakovlev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] This day at the [USSR] Trade and Industrial Fair in Beijing [3-16 September] could, with every justification, be described as "Conversion Day." It opened with a lecture by Doctor of Economic Sciences Lazentsev entitled "Conversion and the Economic Reform in the USSR."

Interest in the exhibition and in conversion problems is great in China, especially at the moment when talks on arms and Armed Forces reductions along the Soviet-Chinese border have opened in Moscow. This not only offers new opportunities for strengthening trust between our countries, it also releases new resources for peaceful purposes. Many of the fair's exhibits convincingly illustrate what the military-industrial complex has to offer the national economy. They include not only the latest machine tools and equipment built at military enterprises, but also immitation-gold cutlery and crystal produced in Leningrad. The gold effect is produced by titanium which made military missiles gleam in the past.

Both the goods themselves, and the experience gained in using military industry to produce civilian goods, are attracting the interest of many Chinese visitors, scientists and practitioners alike. After all, the Chinese industry faces similar problems.

This is a meat grinder [video shows machine].

[V.M. Usachev, deputy director general of Obshchemasheksport (General Machinery Export Association)] A large group of businessmen from Tianjin visited the exhibition and our stand. And a specific canning plant, representatives and the director of this plant, thoroughly acquainted themselves with this machine and have decided in principle to purchase it for their canning plant. They propose to pay with their canned products. I think this deal is also interesting for our own enterprise, the Voronezh machine building plant. Therefore I think that this is only the beginning. In principle, prospects for the sale of machines of this kind exist here.

[Reporter] The Beijing exhibition is above all businesslike. Lectures, conclusion of contracts, discussion of future joint projects—these are its day-to-day events.

Chinese Press Delegation Arrives 19 Sep

LD1909214190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—A delegation from China's state Directorate of Press and Publication Administration, led by Director Song Muwen, is now paying a reciprocal visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR State Committee for the Press.

Apart from the capital, the Chinese guests visited Leningrad and Kiev, where they had numerous meetings with Soviet publishers and printing workers.

The delegation was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Dzasokhov today. An involved exchange of opinions on Soviet-Chinese cooperation took place.

Northeast Asia

Commentary on Japan's New Defense White Paper

OW2109110090 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Commentary by Dmitriyev]

[Text] The current defense white paper has broken a Japanese tradition according to which Japan used to include the theme of the so-called Soviet threat as the best pretext to justify its defense buildup. The new white paper welcomes and points out the Soviet troop reduction, the shift of Soviet policy orientation, the democratization in Eastern Europe, and the development of Soviet-U.S. relations. It can be said that all these facts actually reflect the developing defusion of international tension. Perhaps, the change in the tone of the Japanese white paper indicates that the trend of defusing tension has finally reached Japan.

With the approach of the top Soviet leader's first visit to Japan; that is, President Gorbachev's visit to Japan scheduled for next April, the disappearance of the theme of the Soviet threat will probably have a favorable impact on Soviet-Japanese relations. The stereotypical theme of the Soviet threat has never reflected reality, and it makes no sense for Japan to stick to this theme in the current international situation. In other words, it should be noted that the abandonment of this theme is probably the natural reaction to events now taking place in the world.

Incidentally, as everyone knows, it was under Prime Minister Kaifu's direct instructions that the proper decision was made on this issue. We can probably appraise this decision as an indication of the Japanese political leadership's determination not to fall behind global trends. Meanwhile, there seems to be a difference in views on this issue between the Japanese political leadership and Defense Agency officials. Last July, that Japanese agency's director general stated that he could hardly agree to the documents issued at the recent conference of the seven major industrialized nations, the Houston summit, because they failed to mention anything about the Soviet threat.

However, it is hardly possible to think that the Defense Agency director general has completely changed his position on this issue in just two months. On the other

hand, if the Japanese Defense Agency did not faithfully believe in the Soviet threat, then it is not at all strange that it changed its position. This observation can be underscored by a Tokyo report that the Defense Agency agreed to draft the defense white paper only after it had obtained the government's assurance that military expenditures would not be reduced.

When all these facts are taken into consideration, we have good reason to believe that for the Japanese military leadership the theme of the Soviet threat merely has propaganda value for justifying its military program. Ichiro Yoneyama, adviser to the prime minister on national security issues, stated on 18 September that there would be no obstacles to these programs. Moreover, Mr. Yoneyama stated at the regular session of the National Security Council that the defusion of East-West tension would not have any influence on Japan's defense programs.

In this connection, dropping the theme of the Soviet threat does reflect an improvement in the international atmosphere. Is it possible to say that Japan already has made no major progress whatsoever in its defense policy? The very fact that no such signs can be noted in the defense white paper is one of the major reasons why the opposition parties have, as usual, criticized it.

Regarding the defense white paper, the Japan Socialist Party denounced the government for ignoring the conclusion of the cold war, and called for reviewing the 1976 National Defense Program Outline. Meanwhile, in criticizing the Defense White Paper, the Komeito Party pointed out that, although the theme of the Soviet threat has been dropped from the paper, the Defense Agency is actually still supporting this theme.

Japanese Delegation Ends Vladivostok Visit

LD1909113490 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok September 19 TASS—"There will be practically no barriers left between the southern part of the Far East and Japan's Niigata Prefecture when Primorie territory is declared a free enterprise zone. We could also agree to grant the most favoured nation treatment to each other within the limits of local jurisdiction," Vladimir Kuznetsov, chairman of the Primorie Territorial Executive Committee, said today, seeing off the Japanese delegation.

The leader of the Japanese delegation, Governor Kiyoshi Kaneko, agreed with him. He said he hoped his four-day visit to Vladivostok would lay the groundwork for active and varied interparliamentary relations between Primorie and Niigata. The prospects of such contacts and the importance of strengthening cooperation between the peoples of Japan and the USSR found reflection in the communique signed here by the two sides.

It was also decided to establish twin city relations between the sea ports of Niigata and Vladivostok, to open a passenger shipping line and then air service between the two ports. Recognising the need to expand economic relations for the sake of a lasting peace in the region, the sides decided to expand trade and increase its volume to 2 million U.S. dollars. An exhibition of goods produced in the Soviet far east is expected to be held in Niigata for this purpose. It was also decided to exchange higher school instructors.

During his talks with Soviet leaders, the governor of Niigata expressed support of the proposal mady by Mr. Sasakawa, president of the Sasakawa-Senior Peace Fund, who led a delegation of 67 businessmen, representing major industrial and financial companies of Japan, to Vladivostok early in September, in order to establish regional contacts between the territories and regions of the Soviet far east and west Japan prefectures.

Coal Accord Signed With Japan, Supplies Increase

LD1909163890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] With the assistance of the (Baykalit) Siberian Foreign Economic Association, which was set up recently, the first agreement to supply 10,000 tonnes of coal to Japan has been signed between the Japanese firm (Hokkaido Coal Import Center) and the Vostsibugol Assocation. This fuel will be sold for hard currency at world prices for the first time. The several hundreds of thousands of dollars that will be earned are planned to be spent on buying modern medical equipment for miners. In future it is planned to increase the supply of Irkutsk coal to Japan.

Lukyanov Meets Japanese Tea Ceremony Official

PM1909153590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Friendly Meetings"]

[Text] On 14 September A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with Soshitsu Sen, an eminent Japanese public figure and leader of the "Urasenki" tea ceremony foundation, who is in the Soviet Union in connection with the foundation's society in Moscow.

The talk, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, touched on questions of Soviet-Japanese relations and the role of the two countries' public in their further all-around development to the benefit of both peoples and in the interests of the consolidation of security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Rogachev Receives New Mongolian Ambassador

PM2009132390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received N. Mishigdorj, who has been newly appointed Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his forthcoming presentation of his credentials.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Lukyanov, Cambodian Official Discuss Ties

LD2009160290 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Soviet parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov and President of the Cambodian Council of State Heng Samrin said they were satisfied with Soviet-Cambodian cooperation. They met here today.

Lukyanov and Heng Samrin informed each other of the situation in their countries. They paid much attention to a Cambodian settlement, noting that the formation of the Cambodian Supreme National Council and the adoption as a basis for a comprehensive settlement of the framework agreement elaborated by permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, have promoted the search for a Cambodian settlement to the final stage.

They agreed that it is necessary to make further practical steps towards national reconciliation, ensure a ceasefire as soon as possible and create necessary conditions for holding general elections in Cambodia under the U.N. supervision. The elections will determine Cambodia's political future.

Lukyanov and Heng Samrin confirmed the readiness of the Soviet Union and Cambodia to coordinate their efforts and work for a peaceful settlement in the interest of Cambodian people, peace, stability and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

UN Security Council Passes Cambodia Resolution

LD2109092190 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 21 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations September 21 TASS—The U.N. Security Council unanimously approved a resolution on Thursday approving principles for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict and approving continuing effort by China, Great Britain, USA, USSR and France to achieve it.

The council welcomed the recognition of these principles by all the Cambodian sides as the basis for settling the conflict at the unofficial Jakarta meeting of September 10, 1990. The council also approved the agreement reached at that meeting to set up a Supreme National Council as the only lawful body and source of power. It will embody the independence, national sovereignty and unity of Cambodia during the transition period.

The Security Council called on members of the Supreme National Council to elect its chairman as quickly as possible. The resolution notes that the Supreme National Council will represent Cambodia abroad and appoint representatives to the United Nations, specialised U.N. agencies and other international institutions, as well as to international conferences.

The Security Council urged all the sides involved in the conflict to display the utmost restraint in order to create the peaceful atmosphere needed to achieve and carry out an all-embracing political settlement. It called on the co-chairman of the Paris international conference on Cambodia to step up its consultations in order to reconvene the conference to work out and adopt a political solution and draw up a detailed plan for its implementation, in keeping with the said principles.

The Security Council called on the Supreme National Council, all Cambodians, and also the sides involved in the conflict to fully cooperate in this process. It was recommended that the secretary general continue preparatory studies to assess the consequences of these efforts as regards resources, schedules and other requirements, involving U.N. participation.

Scientific Cooperation With Singapore Discussed

LD2009162790 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology Nikolay Laverov and Singaporean Minister of State Mah Bow Tan have expressed interest in the development of cooperation in the sphere of science and technology between the USSR and Singapore.

Spokesman for the USSR Committee for Science and Technology Rostislav Dolgopolov told TASS after the end of the talks that this dialogue "means a new stage in joint efforts aimed at ensuring a broad exchange of views with the management of Singaporean Government institutions and private firms about the development of scientific and technological cooperation and the use in both countries of the fundamental scientific potential accumulated in the Soviet Union".

Mah Bow Tan pointed to broad opportunities and experienced possessed by his country for the implementation of joint science-intensive projects on the basis of Soviet technologies and developments, as well as their marketing in Singapore and ASEAN countries. The Soviet side admitted that now Singapore is one of the Soviet Union's promising partners in the region.

In order to further develop cooperation, the two countries agreed to exchange delegations of scientists and businessmen, to promote the establishment of direct ties between Soviet scientific centers and industrial enterprises, on the one hand, and their Singaporean partners, on the other, to define priority directions and spheres of

cooperation and to provide a legal basis for scientific and technological ties on the intergovernmental level.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Officials Discuss Gulf Situation, Ties

LD2009163590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Ravil Musin]

[Text] Tehran, 20 September (TASS)—A.M. Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, visited Tehran 18-20 September. In the course of talks with A. Velayati, Islamic Republic of Iran minister of foreign affairs, M. Vaezi and A. Borujerdi, his deputies, and also M. Nurbakhsh, minister of economy and finances, a thorough exchange of views was held on the issues of the current situation in the Persian Gulf, the Iran-Iraq settlement, and developing bilateral Soviet-Iranian relations.

The situation in the Persian Gulf region was at the center of the consultations. The Soviet side set forth a general course [printsipialnaya liniya] aimed at settling the situation by peaceful means. The Soviet Union's conviction was stressed that joint efforts by all the peace-loving countries should prevent the crisis from developing into a major military conflict fraught with extremely dangerous consequences. Strict observance of the UN Charter and compliance with the UN Security Council's resolutions adopted regarding Iraq's aggression against Kuwait constitute a basis for preventing such a turn of events.

The Iranian side spoke in favor of a peaceful settlement to the crisis in the Persian Gulf region and also stressed the need for unconditional and complete withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and adherance to the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. Condemning Iraq's annexation of neighboring Kuwait, in particular, for the fact that it has led to a massive foreign military presence in that region, Iran stands for invigorating the efforts, primarily, of the region's states themselves, in the matter of restoring peace and stability.

Both sides confirmed their interest in further mutual contacts and cooperation with the purpose of overcoming the crisis in the Persian Gulf region as soon as possible.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the course of the large- scale bilateral Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the economic and other spheres and stressed the existence of good prospects for their further development.

PLO Delegation Arrives for Talks on Gulf

JN2009202890 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1830 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] On the official invitation of the Soviet leadership, PLO Executive Committee members Brothers Mahmud 'Abbas and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh arrived in Moscow today to discuss the Gulf crisis and the Palestine question.

In a predeparture statement in Tunis, Brother Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh said that the Palestinian delegation will present the basis of the Palestinian initiative that is based on international legitimacy in its orientation regarding the resolution of the Palestine question and the Gulf crisis. He added that this initiative stresses the political and practical links between the two issues. He went on to say that the PLO attaches great importance to seeing Moscow support the formula of an Arab solution to the Gulf crisis without offering any cover for foreign military presence.

Commentaries Assess Persian Gulf Crisis

Saddam Linked to Terrorism

90UFO552A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 18 Sep 90 p 14

[Article by correspondent Kirill Privalov: "Husayn's Secret Weapon"]

[Text] Paris—Hardly had Iraqi forces entered Kuwait City before Saddam Husayn was sending a special group to the Salidiya prison, which was holding 17 Lebanese terrorists. They were serving sentences for the December 1983 attack on the U.S. and French Embassies in Kuwait, in the course of which seven persons were killed and 83 wounded. On 3 August, under tight security, the terrorist fanatics released from the dungeon were taken to Baghdad to be put at the disposal of the Muhabarat—the Iraqi secret service—which has long had a section for the organization of acts of terrorism.

"The Western secret services are now on the warpath," the Paris weekly LE POINT writes, "and they know that in the event of an armed conflict in the Persian Gulf, Iraq has, in addition to 'classical weapons,' a secret weapon—terrorism. Saddam Husayn has thrived in this sphere for he has the best-known company of terrorists." The French journal calls Abu-Ibrahim, Abu-Nidal, and Abu-al-'Abbas the "infernal trio." The criminals and their "commandos" have approximately 100 crimes in various countries to their credit. Here are just a few lines from their service record.

People in France began speaking about the Abu-Ibrahim terrorist organization after an explosion at the Marks and Spencer store on Boulevard Haussmann in Paris. One person died, but the terrorists also paid with one of their militants. The French police arrested a young Tunisian, who confessed that he had made frequent trips to Baghdad, where he had been taught to handle explosives by "Commander" Abu-Ibrahim himself. The terrorists had planned their action with rare cynicism: At the very time when "Commander" Abu was handing his agent a "gift" for Parisians, Saddam Husayn was receiving from France Super-Etendard aircraft equipped with Exocet missiles.

Interpol has long been looking for Abu-Nidal, a veteran of terrorism and a patron of dissidents of the PLO who are obsessed with the idea of violence. Kicked out of other Arab countries, he is now licking his wounds in Baghdad. In 1983 Saddam Husayn, in need of Western arms and for this reason jealous of his "good reputation," evicted Abu Nidal and his armed formations from Iraq. But at the end of the war between Iraq and Iran Abu-Nidal won back Husayn's trust. Not that long since the terrorist boss, in the grip of persecution mania, took brutal reprisals in Libya against more than 150 members of his organization suspected of treachery.

Abu-al-'Abbas, chairman of the "Palestine Liberation Front," who is also now whiling away his time in Baghdad, is surrounded by an aura of Herostratian luster too. He became famous for the piratical seizure in the Mediterranean of the "Achille Lauro" passenger ship, when the aggressors threw an American invalid overboard. Abu-al-'Abbas has bases in other Arab countries also, primarily in Libya. Whence he mounts operations against Israel.

"We must acquire uncommon importance in international politics, but in order to achieve this we cannot resort to classical weapons used by the great powers." These words were spoken by Saddam Husayn in the 1970's. He has since that time found "nonclassical" weapons for acquiring his own "uncommon importance."

Arab Reactions Viewed

90UF0553A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 18 Sep 90 p 14

[Article by Sergey Medvedko: "When There Is No Agreement Among the Arabs"]

[Text] Damascus—The following impression may be gained of the situation that has taken shape in the Arab region from the way in which events surrounding the Persian Gulf are being covered in the West, and in the Soviet Union also: On one side, the Saddam Husayn regime, in the role of aggressor, on the other, Kuwait, the neighboring oil-producing countries, which consider themselves a potential target of Baghdad's hegemonist aspirations, and also the other Arab states, which have taken the side of the victim. In this case it would be appropriate to speak about the splintering off of one country from the whole Arab world. However, in reality the latest conflict in the Near East has entailed an unprecedented split among the Arabs. The divide between the parties here does not run along national borders. Fifteen members of the Arab League condemned Baghdad's aggression, three—Libya, the PLO, and Iraq itself—voted against. But the attitude toward Baghdad's actions at the level of politicians and at the level of the people's masses differs.

In some capitals statesmen have condemned Iraq merely to preserve their reputation in the eyes of the world community. Not so much criticism of the aggressor as slogans in support of Iraq in the face of the American threat have been heard in others. In Jordan, for example, more than 80,000 persons, mainly Palestinians, have registered in Baghdad's army as volunteers. Yemen has agreed to deploy some aircraft of the Iraqi Air Force on its territory in order to protect them in the event of a concentrated U.S. attack. Iraqi tankers that have broken through the naval blockade have been unloading in the port of Aden. Sudan has allowed the Iraqis to station on its territory along the Red Sea 7,000 soldiers and missile batteries, their intended target being U.S. and NATO warships passing through the Suez Canal. Algeria and Djibouti have taken Baghdad's part. Up to 200,000 demonstrators have taken part in pro-Iraqi demonstrations in Khartoum (Sudan). Similar marches and mass meetings have taken place in Tunis, Beirut, and other capitals.

But Iraq has encountered the most understanding among Palestinians. PLO representatives have announced that its organization in Iraq and Kuwait alone has up to 50,000 armed volunteers ready to act on Saddam's side.

Iraqi calls for the destruction of the "national borders drawn by the colonialists, who artificially dismembered the Arab world," have had an effect in the Arab world. Saddam has appealed to Arabs to unite for a solution of the Palestinian problem and the liberation of their land from "rotten appeaser regimes" and, what is most important, from "the Zionist presence" in the shape of Israel. It is not surprising that such slogans met with a lively response primarily among the population of the Arab land seized by Israel, particularly after Baghdad came out with the initiative of linking a settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf with Israel's departure from the occupied territories.

I have spoken on this matter with Palestinians living in Lebanon and Syria. "Under present conditions," they believe, "there is no other Arab leader with a realistic opportunity to solve the Palestinian question. And if for this it is necessary to sacrifice tiny Kuwait, this is no great loss." Some are gleeful even: "It serves these moneybags right, they were more concerned with the interest rates in Western banks than the position of their brothers on the West Bank (of the Jordan)." Kuwait's wealth may finally be used for the cause of the Palestinian revolution, others argue. The following opinion was heard also: "If the Arabs cannot unite, agreeing among themselves, let Saddam unite them by force." Popular also was the Iraqi leader's call for a jihad—a holy war against the United States for the purpose of putting an end to the Western presence in the Arab east and preventing "the desecration by infidels of the Islamic shrines on Arab soil."

I heard such statements also in the course of candid discussions even in Syria—a country that has for more than 20 years been the traditional rival, to put it no more strongly than that, of the Baghdad regime and which has dispatched armed subunits to Saudi Arabia to combat the Iraqi aggression. "We do not support Saddam," a

Syrian acquaintance told me. "But the Iraqis are our brothers, and we would unite with them with pleasure! We would not fire at them, even if ordered. At an American soldier, that is another matter!"

I am sure that the Iraqi leader would have many times fewer supporters in the Arab world had the West's biggest naval formation since the times of World War II not been moving toward the shores of the Persian Gulf. Although in this case the Arabs would hardly be in a position to force the aggressor to withdraw from Kuwait. But it is precisely the factor of the foreign presence that is taking the edge off the sense of indignation in respect of Saddam's actions. In addition, the Iraqi leader has for many years been quite successful in acting the part of "principal fighter for the Arab cause." It was not for nothing that at the Arab summit this May in Baghdad he was called the "savior of the Arab nation."

However much his Arab colleagues tried to persuade him, Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad did not agree to a compromise with Saddam and did not participate in the meeting. Damascus now feels itself vindicated: after all, it had long been warning the Arabs about the "fascist essence" of the Iraqi regime and its "perfidy" and "brutality" and castigating Baghdad for "genocide against the Kurdish people." In an interview with me Mustafa Talas, deputy prime minister and defense minister of Syria, expressed confidence in the swift fall of the Iraqi regime for the latter had "shackled its own people even."

Reports are reaching Damascus concerning growing opposition to the regime within Iraq. Several assassination attempts against Saddam have been made in the past month. Some 240 officers, including several generals, have been executed in Iraq for refusing to obey orders. Tension is growing not only in the region but within Iraq also.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentaries Assess South African Instability

'Iron Fist' Policy Viewed

MB2109075390 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Commentary by (Yuriy Shirovlov)—read by announcer]

[Text] The South African Police have endorsed certain austerity measures code-named Iron Fist, to stabilize the situation in the country. Here is a commentary by observer (Yuriy Shirovlov):

The code name brings to mind a very unpleasant parallel. Iron Fist is the policy that Israel is implementing in Gaza and the occupied West Bank of the Jordan. Actually, South Africa does not have occupied territories, and the entire matter is much simpler there.

ANC [African National Congress] supporters and the military wing of the Zulu dominated Inkatha organization have been fighting in the black townships of Johannesburg for more than a month. The clashes have already claimed over 800 lives.

The situation is plain and simple, but the actions to counter it are not. The South African police and security forces are experienced enough in dispersing the protests of Africans, and restoring order under conditions of emergency rule.

As far as it is known, neither the police nor the army were reduced numerically, nor are there plans to do so. So then what is the matter? Why do the guardians of law seem so reluctant about doing something to stop the bloodshed? (?There might well be) several reasons. Many of the police and army staff members take an exclusively conservative stand. They are dissatisfied with the line of President de Klerk aimed at reforming the country. The outbreaks of violence undermine the dismantling of apartheid and the transition to a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The anarchy in African townships can foster the conservative mood. The fact that the extremists of the rightwing groups have taken to Inkatha as an ally in fighting the ANC can hardly be ruled out. That is a dangerous signal that a conservative alliance is shaping up.

There exists another amazing aspect too. During a regular meeting with Nelson Mandela, the president admitted the possibility that government forces anticipate the maximum scale of hostilities in the black ghettos, something that cannot but cause alarm with the public.

There is no hurry with the promised security measures. Measures already taken have definite [words indistinct] the Iron Fist scenario stipulates that the police force shall have unlimited powers, and their use shall remain unchecked. So the supporters of the ANC may get an unexpected stab in the back.

Another option looks quite possible too. A conscientious [word indistinct] of the law enforcement bodies was provoked by the attempts to discredit the ANC. In an attempt to (?paint) the conflict as a war, with blacks fighting against other blacks, the authorities can show the unreliability of their partner in future talks, and thus considerably squeeze the congress' opportunity in (?elaborating) the draft of the future South Africa's basic laws.

On the other hand, the proper (?show) of the intentions to dismantle racial segregation in the country can earn a more favorable reputation in the West, since the Pretoria regime has the itch to break through the sanctions in the most vulnerable fields. That is the stance and the approach the South African Government has (?towards) the solution of internal problems.

By and large, it does not meet with approval, more so that the government's foreign policy seems to be the complete opposite. Recently a session was convened of the trilateral commission supervising the implementation of peace settlement agreements on the southwest of Africa. Its members are Angola, Cuba, and South Africa [words indistinct] agreements were signed in New York in 1988, and they envisaged the independence of Namibia, the Cuban pull-out from Angola, and an end to outside interference in Angola's affairs [words indistinct] conditions are being steadfastly carried out and Pretoria plays a significant role in that. At the trilateral meeting in Windhoek, the South African representative proposed that Angola establish a telephone and fax line with South Africa to prevent all kinds of harrassing situations. The initiative should be definitely regarded as a positive one. One should not dismiss Pretoria's attempt to promote, in one way or another, internal Angolan settlement at the conference table, bringing together the government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

This comparison brings to the spotlight a tangible (?difference) between the policy at home and outside the country. But the South African Government must keep in mind the international community will judge it not by pretty words but by concrete deeds. There will be a much greater credibility with President De Klerk if he scores success in the parallel solution of the foreign and home policy problems.

Violence Frustrates Dialogue

MB2109074390 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 19 sep 90

[Commentary by (Oleg Shedrov)—read by announcer]

[Text] A bloody war between supporters of the African National Congress [ANC] and the Zulu Inkatha grouping is threatening to frustrate the political dialogue between the ANC and government. The congress has accused Pretoria's law and order forces of orchestrating the unrest, and siding with Inkatha. It has also condemned the Iron Fist policy that the government has worked out, in a bid to curb the violence.

An emergency session of the congress is discussing chances to break off its negotiations with the government and renew the armed struggle. Next, commentary by (Oleg Shedrov):

The two groupings are disputing domination of South Africa's black community. The five weeks of clashes between them have killed nearly 800 people, but the political aftermath of the violence is yet more serious. President Frederik de Klerk is experiencing concerted pressure from the right, and so far has nothing to answer to the question of advisability of further talks with the divided black community.

Black radicals, meanwhile, are describing the political dialogue with the government as a mistake, and are pressing on Nelson Mandela to cut it short.

If the wheel of violence is not stopped soon, South African society will inevitably split even deeper and the hopes for a nonviolent dismantling of apartheid will be buried for good. There are forces in South Africa that are striving to (?turn developments) just this way. Unidentified blacks have opened fire on white pedestrians in Johannesburg, and although the police have long suspected Mr. Mandela's wife, Winnie, of complicity in the kidnap and murder, the attorney general has chosen the surge of violence as an appropriate time to bring her to court.

The government responded to the violence with the so-called Iron Fist policy, and introduced a curfew in black townships, and some travel restrictions. Black workers' dormitories have been fenced with barbed wire. The police report no major incidents over the first two nights of these emergency measures.

But the ANC opposes this way to pacify the population. Mr. Mandela has said his organization is against violence, but not at any cost. What price the congress is prepared to pay remains a question, since no constructive proposals have as yet been put forward, and Nelson Mandela is stubbornly rejecting direct contact with his adversary, Zulu Chief Buthelezi, although joint effort is needed to stop the clashes.

Frustration of the ANC-government talks and the renewal of the armed struggle will not lead to peace. South Africa's future depends on whether the whites and blacks can put an end to violence without sacrificing the political dialogue.

East Europe

Obukhov, Polish Ambassador Review Summit Results

PM2009131390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.A. Obukhov, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received S. Ciosek, Polish ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. During the talk the Polish ambassador was familiarized with the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Helsinki and the results of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's talks in Moscow.

Soviet Officers Linked to Hungarian Black Market

LD2009223290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] In Odessa more than 20 high-ranking Soviet Army officers, among them two generals, have been arrested for trying to smuggle various domestic appliances onto the Hungarian black market. PRAVDA reports that they disguised the goods as helicopter spare parts, but the

crates in fact contained deep freezers, electric drills, coffee makers, and silver cutlery. On the same day it also transpired that Romanian pilots wanted to smuggle out of Odessa airport color television sets and electronic appliances, also disguised as military deliveries.

West Europe

Frolov Meets French Communist Party Chief

PM1909155390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by unidentified PRAVDA correspondent: "Meetings with Friends"]

[Text] Paris, 17 Sep—During the L'HUMANITE festival I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chief editor of PRAVDA, and head of the PRAVDA delegation, has met with the leader of the French Communist Party [PCF]—PCF Secretary General G. Marchais—to whom he conveyed warm words of greeting from Soviet Communists and personally from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR, as well as with PCF Central Committee Secretaries G. Plissonnier and M. Gremetz and others. Questions of further cooperation between the CPSU and the PCF and between the newspapers PRAVDA and L'HUMANITE were discussed during the talks that were held.

Council of Europe Legal Group Begins Talks

LD2009163290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1013 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—The directorate of information of the USSR Foreign Ministry reports that a working meeting with representatives of the Council of Europe on issues of criminal-executive law and its implementation began in Moscow today.

The Council of Europe delegation is headed by Erich Harremos, director of the Juridical department. The Soviet delegation is headed by Georgiy Tarazevich, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Experts from Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Soviet Union are taking part in discussions. The meeting continues discussions held by the Council of Europe on issues of all-European legal jurisdiction and human rights which began in Strasbourg earlier.

New Norwegian, Belgian Ambassadors Received

PM1909140990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, received D. Stenseth, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR, 17 September in connection with the forthcoming presentation of his credentials.

Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy received T. de Gryuben [name as transliterated], new Belgian ambassador to the USSR, 17 September in connection with the forthcoming presentation of his credentials.

Latvian Minister Concludes Finland Visit

LD2009224890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1311 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhnyy]

[Excerpt] Helsinki, 20 September, (TASS)—An unofficial visit by Jy. Jurkans, Latvian foreign minister, to Finland, which lasted two days, has ended. He met H. Holkeri, Finnish prime minister; P. Paasio, minister of foreign affairs; and representatives of political parties and business circles of the country.

At a meeting with journalists, Jy. Jurkans stated that the aim of his visit to Finland and other countries of northern Europe is to establish more sound economic and cultural ties between Latvia and these countries. At the same time he noted that nowadays the West is so interested in establishing good relations between superpowers that it is still not paying any attention to problems of the Baltic republics. In his opinion the West does not want to complicate relations between the USSR and the United States because of the Baltic issue at a time when the Soviet Union has joined the West in settling issues connected with the situation in the Persian Gulf area. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Human Rights Activist Recants Views

PM2009145790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by A. Kamorin: "'Our Party Is No More.' Cuban Dissident Changes Her Views"]

[Text] Havana—After six months of detention pending trial, one of the best-known Cuban dissidents—Tania Diaz Castro, secretary general of the "Cuban Human Rights Party"—has left jail.

Tania Dias is 51 years old and is a journalist with a great deal of experience of work in the Cuban media. On 20 July 1988 she was one of the founders of the "Cuban Human Rights Party," while in November of the same year she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment on a charge of breaching public order. This year T. Diaz was arrested again together with a group of human rights activists. Now she has been released pending trial.

It has to be said that Tania Diaz's legal status is not entirely clear. On the one hand, she is not under house arrest and has not given a written undertaking not to leave [the country]. Nor does she know the date of the trial and the charge that will be brought at it. On the other hand, the long process of drawing up the papers for her departure to the United States as a political refugee

(T. Diaz's son is in the United States, whereas her daughter lives in Cuba) is practically complete. Whether she will be able to leave the country before the trial remains to be seen.

On 5 September Tania Diaz Castro invited a group of journalists to her home for an impromptu news conference and made a number of really sensational statements. Describing her period of imprisonment as "fruitful and useful," she said that the thinking she had done in her prison cell, the conversations with state security officers, and her reading of the classic works of Marxism-Leninism had prompted her to revise her views, had opened her eyes. This insight led T. Diaz to the conclusion that her party colleagues were motivated not by high ideals, but by personal interests and a desire for power, which had effectively turned them into "informers for the Department of U.S. Interests in Havana."

In connection with the latter accusation, Tania Diaz Castro informed the journalists of a U.S. Interests Department plan for a group of human rights activists to illegally infiltrate a Western embassy and then to get them out of the country and organize a propaganda tour of a number of European countries.

To all appearances, T. Diaz underwent a profound inner transformation in jail—what she says now is diametrically opposed to her previous views. She said that the Party in Defense of Human Rights is virtually nonexistent, in fact it is not necessary, since "there is no need to defend human rights in Cuba." In her view, Cubans do not need greater freedom of expression, because they "do not need a press that would attack the people's government." T. Diaz also rejected the call, widely heard among dissident circles, for elections on the Isle of Freedom, because, according to her, "Fidel Castro is the kind of leader who comes along once in a thousand years."

Tania Diaz also rejected the suggestion that she had changed her views under pressure from the state security organs or as a result of the recent incident involving her daughter, who was publicly insulted in the street.

The well-known dissident's recantation is undoubtedly a severe blow to the positions of the already none too numerous and fragmented Cuban dissident movement. The future will tell whether it will be the final curtain for the human rights movement on the island, whether her former colleagues will follow T. Diaz.

Supreme Soviet

Abalkin: Government To Resign If Reforms Pass

AU2109090190 Paris AFP in English 0851 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 21 (AFP)—The Soviet Government will resign immediately if parliament adopts a radical reform programme drawn up by Academician Abel Aganbegyan, deputy premier responsible for economic reform Leonid Abalkin said here Friday.

"The government will resign immediately, (Prime Minister Nikolay) Ryzhkov first and me too, if the Aganbegyan programme is adopted today," Mr. Abalkin told journalists in the corridors of the Soviet parliament.

"The government is made up of serious and professional people who do not want to take part in this adventure."

The Soviet parliament on Friday entered the final phase of discussions on sweeping economic reform as representatives of commissions studying rival schemes presented their findings.

Parliament could take a vote Friday on the programme to be adopted, or simply adopt some urgent measures.

Mr. Abalkin said that the Aganbegyan plan, which basically follows the lines of a radical reform programme drawn up by Stanislav Shatalin and has the support of President Mikhail Gorbachev, would have "tragic consequences."

"They will have to find other people, because the government refuses to implement this programme," Mr. Abalkin added.

Mr. Ryzhkov has previously made it clear he could step down if parliament adopted a programme opposed by the government and which it felt unable to implement.

Shevardnadze Addresses Panel on German Treaty

LD2009172890 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 20 Sep 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze spoke today at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Foreign Affairs.

"I find it necesary to inform the USSR Supreme Soviet of the nature and significance of the Treaty on the Final Settlement of the German Problem, signed by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and the GDR on September 12.

"All documents that were signed in this connection on a multilateral and bilateral basis will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for ratification.

"My task is to precede this presentation and voice the opinion of the Foreign Ministry on what this treaty gives to our country, how much it meets our state and political interests.

"Less than in two weeks the creation of united Germany will become an accomplished fact. The political map of Europe is changing dramatically. I should like to stress that the Moscow treaty is settling at the proper time two problems, which are of strategic importance for our policy. It defines new Germany's situation in Europe with due account for the interests of all parties concerned, including, of course, our interests. It paves the way for most active cooperation between our country and this major European power for the foreseeable future.

"The united Germany has emerged almost under our very eyes as a result of stormy and rapid processes. These developments continue to look strange to many people, they require additional consideration and the reassessment of many old notions. However, it is getting more and more clear that the developments could not have taken a different course.

"Now it is more timely than ever to recall that the division of Germany was not a natural state. It is not accidental that in the 40s, 50s and later, including the recent period, we did not block the way to German unity, although we had different ideas at different periods of how it can be achieved. This is why from the very beginning, when the developments of the autumn of 1989 surged up, we firmly assumed the stand of the recognition of the right of Germans to the choice of their own way. It was not easy to take this decision. However, it was the only correct and farsighted decision we could take.

"Throughout all post-war decades the 'German problem' and the need for its final settlement has been the central issue of world politics."

Under the conditions of the cold war and the confrontation era, it was impossible to resolve the issue. Moreover, Germany was the focus of the cold war and confrontation. The two major armed groups confronted, and are still confronting, each other here.

The situation here has been exacerbated more than once, placing the world on the brink of war. This could not and should not last. Did the Soviet people pay the incredibly high price for the victory in the last war to continue living under the permanent danger of having to withstand yet another military threat coming from the German soil? One must look the truth in the face: This was a real major threat as long as a split Germany existed, as long as a mass-scale military confrontation persisted in central Europe.

I can say quite responsibly that this threat is ceasing to exist, beginning from September 12 1990, when the line

was drawn in Moscow under World War II and the foreign political aspects of German unification were finally settled.

This is the substance of the treaty on German unification.

I can be rebuked for being naive. But there is no sense in arguing against me, one can only argue for or against the provisions of the treaty and the realities which it creates.

They are as follows:

—The sides draw back their armed forces from immediate contact. In three or four years there will be no our soldiers left in Germany.

—Germany has pledged to cut her armed forces down to the level of 370,000 men.

—Germany renounced the possession of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

—The eastern part of Germany is granted a special military-political status. No foreign armed forces and foreign nuclear arms will be deployed there, and the German troops will have no nuclear arms carriers.

—The German boundaries, comprising the present external boundaries of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, are recognised as final. Germany shall have no territorial claims with respect to anyone.

—Preparations for the conduct of an offensive war will be regarded as unconstitutional and punishable deed.

Guarantees have been received that the united Germany will not permit the revival of Nazism and its ideology. It will not subject to doubt the rightfulness of the decisions made by the four great powers in 1945-1949 concerning property and land.

It will ensure the preservation of memorials and other monuments erected on the German soil in honour of sacrifices made by peoples to rout fascism, as well as the military burials of our citizens and proper care of them.

"The new Germany also reiterates the protection of confidence with regard to the treaties and agreements concluded by the GDR and West Germany before, i.e. the problem of the succession of rights is being resolved.

"I believe that these elements alone give a clear answer to the question where the guarantees that we received are sufficient.

"I am stressing it, because the question was asked recently on more than one occasion in this or that form: To what degree the documents on Germany that we signed guarantee interests, and primarily security, of the Soviet Union?

"I repeat with a full sense of responsibility that the documents that we signed fully met the interests of the Soviet Union, of all nations and all republics. They are in line with the consolidation of European and international security.

"At the same time, I should like to point out that no agreements, no matter how good they are, can guarantee the security of a state, if this security is not strengthened from inside. If negative, destructive trends remain in this country, if the division of economic, financial and other state structures goes on, no international agreements will ensure our reliable security and peaceful life. Foreign policy is the continuation of domestic policy, and we should always bear it in mind.

"What made it possible for us to reach the level, at which we can make such major principled decision, in such a short period of time and in a comparatively painless way? It is a whole set of factors, and, in the first place, a stable and deepening improvement of Soviet-American relations. This creates the basis, the background that influences directly or indirectly all the affairs and that enables us to move further and further away from a period of rivalry and enter a period of more and more objective and intensive cooperation in all spheres of international life."

"The German reunification and the working out of multilateral and bilateral agreements connected with it took place not in vacuum, but in close political and logical connection with a whole number of major developments, that changed dramatically the situation in Europe and the character of relations between the existing blocs, that created a different attitude to present-day processes and prospects for the future. In the course of the talks our position quickly changed in response to the changing situation, took it into account and adapted itself to new conditions.

"You can judge by yourselves. The working out of an agreement on major reductions of conventional armaments—tanks, armoured vehicles, armoured infantry carriers, artillery pieces and so on—is nearing completion at the Vienna talks in which 23 countries are taking part. Other Vienna talks, held with the participation of 35 countries, are drawing up new confidence-building measures in the military sphere, that will increase significantly the transparency of all military activities.

"The reduction of the personnel of the army and the air force of all European countries, the U.S. and Canadian troops in Europe will be discussed at the next stage of the Vienna talks.

"The new Germany is emerging in an entirely new system of European political and military coordinates. It would be difficult for us to change our attitude to Germany's membership in NATO, if the West had not expressed readiness for the establishment of new relations between the two military-political alliances.

"A declaration is being prepared, in which member states of the alliances will state that they do not regard each other as opponents and will not be the first to resort to force.

"A profound transformation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is under way. NATO is revising its doctrine and strategy, including the concepts of 'frontline defences' and the 'flexible response strategy'. Combat preparedness of troops of the bloc will be brought down, the number and scope of military exercises will be reduced.

"In the future NATO and the Warsaw Treaty pact will become component parts of all-European security structures and later will probably be dissolved in them. Political institutions of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe will be taking upon themselves in ever greater degree the solution of problems connected with the consolidation of stability and predictability, the prevention and settlement of crisis situations and conflicts. These functions will be exercised by a special all-European center. A decision on its creation is expected to be taken at a meeting of leaders of European countries in Paris this autumn.

One should not disregard the fact that extensive inspection and verification activities are permitted over the entire European territory. It will be impossible to carry out any covert military activities on a large scale either in Germany or any other place in Europe.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this factor. joint efforts have created grounds for mutual trust and partnership in ensuring security and reliable peace.

In the new conditions it is impossible to apply an old yardstick to the German question, including its military aspects. Circumstances have changed. Germans have also changed.

They deserve other [as received] attitude and trust after what happened during all the post-war years. It is possible that there will be critics of the treaty with Germany.

I don't doubt this. When great changes are in the making they are connected with great anxieties and concerns. However, I'm convinced that we have achieved an optimum result.

Besides, if we are to speak about the general balance of interests achieved in connection with German unification, it is not fully reflected in the decisions of the final document adopted by the six.

Many substantial elements of this balance are outside of this document. However, they form the package of understandings which was formed during the negotiations between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the meetings in Moscow and the Northern Caucasus in July.

This is, above all, the Comprehensive Treaty of Good-neighbourly Relations, Partnership and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and a united Germany, which was recently initialed in Moscow.

This treaty brings us to a new level of relations and interaction with this second largest and important European state after the USSR.

In addition to provisions on regular political consultations, comprehensive cooperation in the economy, science, culture, ecology, humanitarian and other spheres, the treaty includes vital provisions of military-political nature: Non-aggression, refusal to use first armed forces against each other or against third states and refusal to support an aggresor if one of the sides becomes the object of an attack.

These provisions will be a substantial supplement to understandings on the military and political status of a united Germany.

The restoration of historical justice with respect to Germans permits to put our relations with Germany on a long-term basis which is not affected by transient changes. In future we have more than the sum total of relations between the USSR and West Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

A new category of inter-state relations in Europe will emerge. They will rest on a more perfect contractual basis, above all in the political and economic spheres.

Not only the nature and the scale of mutual exchanges and cooperation will change. The number of participants will also sharply increase. It will include virtually the entire range of Soviet and German political and social forces, beginning with increased inter-parliamentary contacts.

The aim is to draw every political, public, trade union, ecological or women's organisation into this process.

The mass media, bodies of public health and social services as well as church representatives will also be involved in this cooperation.

The sides devote special role to deeper understanding, contacts and cooperation between the young people of the two countries, schoolchildren and students who will be directly responsible in the near future for the viablity of achieved understandings and for advance towards Europe's unification.

Cooperation with Germany is rapidly gaining momentum. It is not confined to the treaty on good-neighbourliness, partnership and cooperation.

A new weighty treaty on the development of large-scale cooperation in the economic, industrial, scientific and technological fields is upcoming—its practical terms have already been agreed to.

The future united Germany, with its estimated social product totalling 1.5 trillion dollars, will make a mighty and dependable partner for this country.

Both sides are ready to do everything to reach a new level and quality of interaction in these matters.

An agreement is now being finalised to identify the conditions of stay and measured withdrawal of our troops. Linked with it is the regulation for some transitional measures.

I think worth noting the readiness—displayed by the German side, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher—to make efforts to provide normal conditions, including in the material and financial sense, for our men as long as they stay there, so that they eventually leave German territory with good feelings as friends of the German people.

The German side will contribute to the implementation of a special programme, under which housing, with a total floor space of four million square meters, will be built in the Soviet Union's European part for troops withdrawn from Germany.

It is planned to build four housing construction complexes to produce up to 100,000 square meters of housing a year.

Additional measures will be taken to provide technical assistance, including the provision of transportation services and retraining in order to integrate our servicemen into civilian labour activity.

I believe that the German side's approach to matters relating to our troops means much. It deserves praise not only from the interstate, but also from the moral viewpoint.

Generally speaking, we are entering a period of truly new relations with Germany. And we must learn to use fully and bravely the new opportunities of cooperation with this great European nation.

There were dark pages in our history. But now the time has come to resolutely turn to the life-giving and powerful sources of peace and mutually beneficial cooperation that had nourished our relations throughout many centuries in the past. I am sure that our future and the future of Europe as a whole will be determined along these traditional lines.

Soviet-German cooperation is not directed against anyone. The time of alliance games, of scheming against each other must go. Our aim is a confident, united and cooperative Europe.

The Soviet-German treaties will be followed by significant and weighty treaties on mutual understanding and cooperation with France, on friendship and cooperation with Italy and new documents specifying the nature of Anglo-Soviet relations.

A package of major agreements with Spain and other West European countries will soon be ready.

Perestroyka is beginning to bear not just a few isolated fruit in our foreign policy. A general shift is likely to occur soon, nearly tectonic in nature, figuratively speaking.

The experience of solving one of the most complicated and acute problems of the postwar time—the German problem—has shown graphically the plausibility of creating a new Europe, in which the Soviet Union will take a worthy place as one of the architects of a common European home and an active participant in cooperation among peaceful, democratic countries.

x x x

Having heard Eduard Shevardnadze's presentation, the USSR Supreme Soviet's International Committee advised the Soviet Government to submit the treaty on German unification for ratification.

The Soviet Defense and Foreign Ministries were instructed to regulate matters relating to the revision of the present system of Soviet diplomatic and consular offices in that country and take steps required by the termination of the quadrilateral agreements.

Respective Soviet agencies were told to take, in conjunction with Union republics, all needed steps to ensure a measured withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory and their deployment in the Soviet Union.

The committee also considered ratifying International Labour Organization Convention No. 147 "On Minimum Norms on Merchant Ships." The committee recommended the USSR Supreme Soviet to ratify this document.

Committee Recommends German Treaty Ratification

LD2009223790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow 20 September TASS—Having taken note of Eduard Shevardnadze's information, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs has recommended that the USSR Government submit for ratification the treaty on the final regulation of relations with Germany.

The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense of the USSR have been charged, in particular, with regulating in the near future the issues of reviewing the existing system of Soviet diplomatic and consular representations in this country, as well as adopting steps connected with the cessation of the validity of the quadripartite agreements, decisions, and practice. All the necessary measures for implementing the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory and provision of facilities for them have been put forward to the appropriate departments of the USSR.

At the sitting, the matter of ratifiying the convention of the International Labor Organisation no 147 "On the Minimum Norms of Commercial Tribunals" was also

studied. The committee has recommended that the Supreme Soviet ratify this document.

Gorbachev Warned on Destabilized Defense Industry

LD2009154490 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The National Defense and Security Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet has warned President Gorbachev that the defense industry's destabilization has reached a dangerous level. The committee, which has been discussing the nation's transition to market relations as a means of curbing the protracted economic crisis, stated that the defense complex, too, appears to be crisis-stricken, and no hasty steps should be taken to privatize or auction off defense industry plants.

A further destabilization of the munitions industry can be prevented only through a series of emergency measures. A short while ago Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev told parliament that the proposed program for transition to the market may cause an irrevocable damage to the Soviet Union's defense capability. The marshal censured the idea of selling out the country's strategic reserves or the Army and Navy's emergency stocks and called against having the whole of the defense industry converted over to civilian production.

Committees, Commissions Discuss Economic Programs

LD2009102490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by All-Union Radio correspondent Marina Novitskaya]

[Text] Hello. As you know, it is here in the committees of the Supreme Soviet and in the commissions of its chambers that the discussion has moved on to the main issue for all of us, I think: the stabilization of the economy and transition to the market. There are now three centers of discussion, if one can put it like that. In session simultaneously are the Committee on Agrarian Issues, and the Committees on Science and on Popular Education. I have also just come back from a joint session of all four commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities. May I remind you that these are commissions such as the Commission on Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs; the Commission on Interethnic Relations; and the Commission on Culture.

Comrade Nishanov, chairman of the chamber, has arrived here. The main aspect of discussion here is the transition to the market by Union and autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs. It may happen that the republics will choose different programs for transition to the market—is it then possible at all? This question, in its variations, is the main one being put to a representative of the Shatalin group. It does not appear possible to put it to the authors of the government's program; they were invited to the session but apparently were unable to attend.

So, the economists from the Shatalin group reckon that they have in fact managed to resolve this problem. As you know, they have been working in cooperation with representatives of the Union republics; and at first the latter suggested the rejection of a federal tax altogether, replacing it with voluntary contributions, the size of which would be determined by the republic itself. In the process of drafting the program, it proved possible to persuade the republics that a federal tax is necessary after all. There are state and all-Union programs, for example the program for eliminating the consequences of Chernobyl, which affects three republics at once.

Another question of great concern to the deputies from the Soviet of Nationalities is whether account will be taken of the fact that the starting conditions for transition to a market are different in various republics. Yes, undoutedly, the authors of the program replied; it is expected to create a fund for subvention and development, and tax privileges for those that are behind.

Well, I would like to note that the atmopshere at this session generally is somewhat nervous and excited. Perhaps this is because the deputies sense the extent of their responsibility and want to make a faultless choice. Our well-known artist, Andrey Vladimirovich Vasnetsov, as he has just said at the session, has already made his choice. In his opinion, the Shatalin program is the first he remembers as having shown real concern for culture underpinned by real measures.

It looks as if the session of the commissions will continue here on Kalinin Prospekt until midday, and they have decided to have a joint meeting at 1500 in order to pull together the conclusions of all the commissions. We will tell you about that; meanwhile, that is the end of my report from the Supreme Soviet building on Kalinin Prospekt.

Committees Back Gorbachev Plan

LD2109095390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 21 September broadcasts a four-minute report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya from the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Novitskaya begins her report by saying that the crowded session is discussing stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations. "The session is being attended by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and by members of the Presidential Council and the government," she notes.

Novitskaya goes on to say that the sitting began with reports by the chairman of the committees and commissions. First to speak was Valentin Mikhaylovich Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform. He said that all the committees and commissions, with

one exception, believed that the program presented by Gorbachev could be adopted as a basis, but it needs to be supplemented by several provisions from the government program and to be modified in light of criticism from people's deputies. "What is undoubtedly supported?" Vologzhin asks. "The accelerated transfer to market relations, the removal of state control at enterprises, the demonopolization and the privatization of state property. What gives rise to doubt? Above all, the section dealing with land reform and aspects of agrarian policy—specifically, the question of the private ownership of land."

Gorbachev's call for a referendum on the subject was regarded as controversial, Novitskaya continues. The sections on social guarantees also caused doubt. The commissions and committees thought that the best system would be for the center to establish basic welfare provisions. These could then be topped up where necessary by the republics from their own resources. Another controversial matter was the role of the State Bank. The Planning and Budget Commission thought that its central position should be retained together with its right to issue money.

"In short, the conclusion of the Committee for Economic Reform is that there is a real possibility of harmonizing the two programs as long as one discards the artificial confrontation." Kucherenko, chairman of the Commission for Planning, Budget and Finance, said that the commission had voted unanimously for the president's program, although there is support for many key provisions of the government program, such as the reform of price formation, Novitskaya reports. Kucherenko also expressed the view that the Council of Ministers should take part in implementing the program and assume an important role in it.

However, Novitskaya concludes, the subsequent discussion cast doubt on the possibility of such an accommodation, since too many conflicting opinions were expressed.

Debate on Ecomomic Plans Continues 21 Sep

LD2109065790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today, there will be a joint sitting of the chambers. The deputies will determine their attitude toward the programs for stabilizing the economy and toward the transfer to market relations. Yesterday, the committees and commissions studied, as you know, three alternative versions.

Deputies of the Russian parliament yesterday made quite a few critical remarks about the draft law on local soviets and local self-government. Additional work will be done on the draft. Today, deputies are to consider a number of draft laws connected with implementing the "500 days" program.

Lukyanov Cited on Economic Program Debate

PM2009151990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by V. Kosarev and V. Urban: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session. What Will We Choose?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is well known that the Russian parliament has already adopted a program for transition to the market. How should this fact be assessed? Will it not exert a kind of pressure on the development of the discussion in the Union parliament?

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondents put this question to A.N. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, before the morning sitting. This is what he told us:

"We will take everything into account. The Russian program was discussed and adopted but afterwards the discussion was extended. As you know, G.A. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, spoke again on Friday [14 September]. And the resolution itself states that the program will be revised and the opinions of other republics taken into account." [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Program Reviews USSR, RSFSR Soviet Sessions

LD2009182690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 20 September carries a 30-minute "Parliamentary Diary" program, conducted by Lyudimila Semina. She opens the program by saying that the main issue discussed by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and Union parliaments today was the transition to a market economy. The RSFSR parliament chose the Gorbachev-Yeltsin program two weeks ago, but the Union parliament is still debating which program to adopt, she notes.

"Tomorrow, at a joint sitting of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, according to the schedule, a decision should be adopted," she notes.

Semina then plays a recording of Yuriy Kamalovich Sharipov speaking at a meeting of members of commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities with academics. Sharipov states: "Esteemed people's deputies, there is a proposal to begin, but before opening the meeting, I must inform you that today, at 1100, there is a sitting of the Politburo, and Comrade Abalkin, Comrade Shatalin, and Comrade Aganbegyan have been invited to the Politburo. But you know that in the course of the Supreme Soviet session we declared that today, at 1000, there would be a meeting of our commission, the commission on the issues of the economic and social development of the union autonomous oblasts and okrugs, and we stated who would speak. We named all three—Comrades Shatalin, Abalkin, and Aganbegyan. But I

don't see them here. All three are absent. No one has phoned me. Yesterday, there was a Politburo meeting here. I, incidentally invited those Politburo members who wished—from the podium where the CPSU plenums are held—to take part in the work of one of the commissions of the Supreme Soviet on the eve of a very important day." He goes on to say that it is various oblasts and republics which are making a transition to a market economy, and not the apparat. The kirghizes have already approved the government program. "Tomorrow we will report with regard to every republic as to who will go for what," he says in conclusion.

Semina then says: "Today we have learned that the committee for economic reform and the committee for labor, prices and social policy have approved the presidential program by an absolute majority of votes. The situation turned out to be more complex in the committee for agrarian and food issues." She then recalls Dmitriy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsov's opposition to the Shatalin program at the plenary sitting.

There follows a four-minute interview between reporter Marina Novitskaya and Ivan Mikhaylovich Ivchenko, deputy chairman of the agrarian committee. He says that basically the committee came out in support of the Shatalin program, although the majority of agro-industrial complex members preferred the government program a more balanced program with regard to the agro-industrial complex. Agriculturalists from the committee will meet with their RSFSR counterparts to work out a joint stance tonight.

Ivchenko goes on to say: "In my opinion, the peasants will survive the Shatalin program in the form which it has been evolved, but as I understand it, the country will go hungry. Perhaps I am mistaken. God grant that I am." He goes on to say that the program's radicalism is too extreme, and that he agrees with the idea of nonsubvention in the Shatalin plan.

Semina then plays a recording of remarks by Andrey Vasilyevich Vasnetsov, an artist, who says that he doesn't understand much about it, but he likes what the Shatalin plan has to say about culture.

Turning to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Semina remarks that only one deputy voted today against a proposal to demand the resignation of the USSR Council of Ministers. During the customary half-hour question time, the deputies discussed work with the Ministry of Defense and the Committee of State Security, and urgent aid to healthcare. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said that the government has been given a 10-day timescale to work out a draft decision on immediate measures to assist Russian medicine. Deputy Piruanskiy, from Kazan, criticized Gubenko, the USSR Minister of Culture, who recently referred to a group of citizens pulling down a Lenin monument as a crowd. He also called for a commission to investigate the October revolution.

Semina then plays a recording of Yeltsin, who states: "I do not think that we, Russia, need to stand aloof with regard to the evaluation of these events, and maybe, anyway, allow such a committee to be formed at union level, or insist on it, and that all republics participate in it, and they would then give this assessment together."

He is followed by Sergey Anatolyevich Masovets, from Omsk, who claims there is a commission for the regulation of priveleges and benefits of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He continues: "The very name itself of the commission gives rise—I do not know—to indignation. Why is the commission for the regulation of priveleges and benefits, and not for their elimination? And a final thing, Boris Nikolayevich, I am very insulted by this little tag, my pass. Here is set down the time for the procurement of some goods which, evidently, it is not possible to obtain in the buffet. That is, I, as a member of the Supreme Soviet, together with my colleagues, can receive certain foodstuffs from 1410 to 1450, and can receive them only as a member of the Supreme Soviet, because nonmembers of the Supreme Soviet are not issued such things. The question arises, if the number 1,601 is written on my pass, minus, let us say, 252 members of the Supreme Soviet, then who are the remaining people, and who has pass, let us say, number 1?" He continues: "I, for instance, together with my comrades, hand in this pass with pleasure."

Yeltsin responds: "I, as always, am a consistent supporter of the fight against priveleges, and can only greet this. Therefore, I think that, on a common basis, if our deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet included go over [as heard], then this will also be a good example for union deputies."

Semina ends the program by noting that the deputies then discussed the law on local soviets.

Minister Seeks Global Response to Hijacking

LD2109101890 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 21 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Twenty attempts to hijack passenger planes have been thwarted in the USSR this year, and seven planes have been forced by hijackers to land in foreign countries.

The escalation of air piracy in the USSR reflects the criminogenic situation in the country, Mikhail Timofeyev, the Soviet deputy minister of civil aviation, told TASS. He said that individual citizens, particularly young people, disregard Soviet laws. He noted that Soviet media helps to feed these actions by not publishing enough materials explaining the criminal nature of hijackers' actions.

Timofeyev said that in order to prevent hijacking, measures have been taken in the Soviet Union to enhance

aircraft protection and inspection before flights. Passengers' luggage and documents are more stringently examined. In addition, specially trained policemen fly on flights to prevent hijacking.

Timofeyev emphasised the importance of unswerving observance of provisions of the Montreal and the Hague conventions. The particpating countries pledged themselves to punish air pirates who landed on their territories or extradite them to the countries from which they hijacked planes.

Timofeyev said that the Soviet Union is now actively engaged in efforts to adopt an international obligation to extradite air pirates regardless of the hijackers' motives. He believes that this measure would be particularly effective in checking air piracy.

Timofeyev said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry is now negotiating the extradition of hijackers with authorities in two countries. It is demanding that plane hijacker Lapin be returned by Turkey and that eleven criminals who forced a plane to land in Pakistan also be extradited.

Schedule for Food Imports Compiled

LD2009184590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers Operative Group, set up on the instructions of the USSR president, discussed the situation in supplying the population with flour, groats, tea, and other food commodities. Measures have been taken for additional imports of some of these goods. Other ways to overcome the tension in the trade of such products have been also found.

Such imports, for instance, of flour, will fully satisfy the needs for baking bread. The purchase of rice from abroad will help normalize the trade of such a valuable provision. Measures are to be taken to speed the supply of imported tea leaves and packed tea. As a result the sale of tea to the population will increase by almost 25 percent by the end of the year.

A clearcut timetable for these imports has been compiled. The control over its implementation, with personal responsibility, has been placed on the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR Ministry of Trade, and on the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet.

Ottoman Turks Demand Return to Homeland

90P50085A Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by V. Perevalov: "Someone Else's Land Is Not Needed"]

[Text] Ottoman Turks held a conference yesterday in the Moscow House of Scientific-Technical Work. Posters hanging in the hall told clearly about the goals of the conference:

"We do not want to occupy someone else's lands—we demand the right to leave"; "200,000 Ottoman Turks—emigrants from Anatolia—await the law on free exit and emigration"

Back in the beginning of the century, almost a half million Turks found themselves in Russia for a variety of reasons. In the beginning they were settled along the northern shore of the Black Sea. After that, when they moved closer to Turkey in the 1930's, they were forcibly resettled in Central Asia. How this ended up is well known. Now they resettle the Turks in the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone.

One can understand the desire of the Turks to leave for their homeland. But they are prevented in this by flaws in legislation. The problem is that for the majority of them it is not possible to emigrate to rejoin their families. Some 100-150 years have already passed and they no longer have close relatives in Turkey. To leave with the help of OVIR [Visa and Foreign Citizen Registration Office] is very difficult. Regulations for obtaining a visa were simplified as much as possible especially for them, but even so we are talking about only 600-700 families. This is just a drop in the sea. And because of this, passions are needlessly aggravated.

'Zionist' Youth Organization Profiled

PM2109094990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by S. Zhukov under the "Criminal 'Dialogue'" rubric: "Peaceful Militants?"—first two paragraphs are a reader's letter]

[Text] I have heard that Zionists have formed detachments of militants. Can these rumors be believed?

A.N., Kiev.

Rumors, of course, are only rumors. And you can believe only competent and objective information which you will find, for example, in "Criminal 'Dialogue.'"

Thus a rally of the "Beytar" Zionist youth organization took place August in Kiev. After the rally's official part, the young Zionists organized a procession along the city's main streets under the flag of the State of Israel.

In fact "Beytar" is a worldwide Zionist youth organization with its center in Israel. It unites Zionist youths aged 13-20 years. Its main task is defined as "fostering an Israeli mentality." The USSR section of "Beytar" was officially formed in May this year. It has up to 400 members. Apart from studying modern Hebrew and reading the Holy Scripture, the "Beytarites" also engage in sport and martial arts, hold rallies, and from time to time go out into the countryside—to summer military and sports camps. The Soviet "Beytar" leadership considers the Jewish self-defense detachments fully capable of resisting pogroms. Committed by neofascist organizations, for the occupied territories in Israel. But the main task of these detachments is to prepare Jewish people for

life in the occupied territories in Israel. So far no conflicts between "Beytar" and internal affairs organs have been recorded.

Weekly Explains Conflict With Writers' Union

90UN2832A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 18 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial offices: "Free Writers' Forum—A Necessary Explanation to Our Readers"—all quotation marks as published]

[Text] And so it is over. We are informing our readers that remarkable events have occurred in the more than 60-year history of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. A couple of days ago the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press and the Mass Media officially registered LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, recognizing the labor collective as its founder. From now on our newspaper will be a free forum for writers and all the country's intelligentsia.

This is a logical continuation of the process of restructuring the newspaper. We hope that the unprejudiced reader will already have been convinced that the newspaper firmly and consistently supports progressive, democratic, and liberal tendencies in our literature and culture and in all social and political life. Quite recently, in May, in the editor's column LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote: "From all sides, especially among writers, we are alert to uneasiness about whether the newspaper will become the organ of some one group of one literary or civil trend. It will not. We have our own position but we have no prejudices. Any discourse that is honest and shows talent will find its place on the pages of the newspaper. We fully accept the advice to rise above group passions and ambitions, which look insignificant at this dramatic hour in the history of the homeland.

The reader has undoubtedly noted that our words do not diverge from our actions. Suffice it to mention Solzhenitsyn's commentary, which has been given a generous place in today's issue, and to recall the statements of literary men with such different positions as Adamovich, Aytmatov, Astafyev, Bykov, Granin, Kozhinov, Kondratyev, Rasputin, and Chernichenko. Of course we will continue to follow this line henceforth as well, not forgetting, of course, to express our own opinion on the crucial problems of literature, culture, politics, economics, science, and so forth. But this opinion—which, of course, no current printed publication could do without—will by no means be a private forum of expression of the position of the group of editorial workers. Our position is being formed now and will be formed in the future taking into account the opinions of writers, with the participation of the expanded social- editorial council of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which includes respected representatives of writers' organizations of all republics, and with an analysis of reader's remarks and suggestions.

The very name LITERATURNAYA GAZETA emphasizes its attachment to the literary process and to the writer's trade in the best sense of the word. Thousands of threads tie the editorial staff to the writing community, and many generations of our creative workers have seen it as their purpose to inform readers of the thoughts and aspirations of the country's literary people. And it is not the newspaper's fault but its misfortune that from time to time lies and self-seeking words have sounded from the writers' forum. And now that the times and history have demanded a word of truth and the calling of the writer to express the thoughts of the people has increased, the editorial staff will strengthen its unity with those who see their duty to the homeland as contributing in all ways to its moral renewal and material prosperity.

To put it bluntly: It was not easy for the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial staff to reach the decision on self-management. In spite of the fact that the right to assume the role of founder was granted to the collective by the Law on the Press, and in spite of the fact that the decision is quite in keeping with the process of changing over to a civil society, we encountered active resistance from the working secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers. The announcement of the founding of the newspaper, which we submitted to the USSR State Committee for the Press, was blocked there by the leaders of the writers' organization. All possible measures were taken to prevent us from registering the collective as the founder of the newspaper in the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. But the law and the will of the labor collective won out in this case.

Now our "curators" are looking for a way to overturn the decision that was made. They are waging a campaign against the policy of the newspaper collective, its editorial board, and its editor in chief. Alas, among the dramatic stories being played out each hour in our country which is in the throes of perestroyka, this is no exception. Not a single one of the former units of the administrative-command system has conceded voluntarily and they will not concede either their position or their privileges.

Now they are trying to convince the writers community that the newspaper has been "carried off" and "stolen," that having become a free and independent press organ, it is "getting away" from the writers. The time has come to explain candidly and to answer this question quite directly: from whom and where LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is "getting away."

To do this it is necessary to turn to the history of the publication. Founded in 1929 as a forum for the writing community, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA soon, by a number of arbitrary decisions, was placed under the control of the apparatus of the USSR Union of Writers which was created in 1934. This is hardly the place to describe in detail what this led to. All kinds of purges and dressings down conducted on instructions from above, the persecution of the best writers who comprised the pride of domestic culture, and the excessive praise of

so-called "secretary-rank" and other opportunistic literature—this is far from a complete list of the bitter and disgraceful affairs that lie on the conscience of the apparatus and (we write about this with repentance and shame) the publications under its jurisdiction. To get rid of this degrading subordination and gain freedom and independence—two or three generations of honest writers and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA workers were destined to realize this dream only today, under the conditions of the social transformations for which perestroyka provided the impetus.

For many decades the USSR Union of Writers guarded the interests of the totalitarian state, implementing its policy in the sphere of literature with unwavering strictness, and forcing all literary publications to follow in its path. It is now bitter to recall how many pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA have been filled with articles denouncing "renegade literary people, reports on political trials of writers who had different ideas, and disgraceful articles in support of those whom not time but somebody's self-seeking will raised to the pedestal of "modern classics." Actually, the leadership of the literary process in the country amounted to making sure that the writer always felt the presence of the eye of the political watch dog and always felt on his shoulder the firm hand guiding him away "from the wrong step."

And can it really be an accident that during the first years of perestroyka, which cracked the icy armor of the "monolithic unity" of the writers' ranks, there was a natural disclosure of differences in positions and views and with respect to what was going on? Different poles were revealed not only in the Union of Writers but also in the literary publications which finally, in the best traditions of world journalism, began to unite around themselves forces that express and reflect the objective differences in views on social processes in the country and in aesthetic preferences.

Now about another aspect of the matter which seems secondary to some but in practice determines a great deal in the current strained relations between the newspaper and the working secretariat of the board of the USSR Union of Writers. We are speaking about property and material problems. Our critics state that the Union of Writers does not even have any doubts about whom LITERATURNAYA GAZETA belongs to. "There is no argument here and there can be none: The publishing facilities for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA were created with our money and even the chair on which the editor-in-chief sits is our chair"—this is what we have heard in some statements.

Well then: Who owns the chairs on which the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA workers are sitting?

In 1929 when the first issue of the newspaper came out the collective of the editorial staff began to carry out its activity without any guidelines from the Union of Writers, which did not even exist yet. And right up until 1952 we printed in others' printing plants, until we acquired our own, or, rather, they were "assigned" to us by administrative orders from the officials in keeping with the purely uneconomical procedure that was the usual at that time.

Throughout all the years of its existence LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has been a profitable publication, and this means that all expenditures for "chairs" and the work of the journalists and printers, all expenditures for paper, transportation, and other things, all equipment, and the rent on buildings were paid from revenues from the sale of our product. From these revenues we paid the proper taxes into the budget. And from them the secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers generously withdrew millions of rubles for both their own and for writers' needs. We managed to discover the only case of money being returned to us in the archives for 1947 when the USSR Union of Writers contributed 1 million rubles [R] (100,000 in today's prices) to the founding fund of the publishing house created under the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial staff. Compare this to the R62.5 million which comprised our fund in 1990. Taking into account all the reforms, it exceeded the contribution of the Union of Writers by a factor of 625! If our property contained the smallest iota of money from the union, it would have been returned with a great deal to spare just last year from our account along with the 35 percent deductions from profit: With the flourish of a highly placed pen R50 million were transferred to the Union of Writers—500 times more than the 42-year-old "gift"! Beware of Greeks bearing gifts...

But this excursion into history does not mean that the collective of the editorial staff, having become the founder of its own newspaper, is appropriating the property of the USSR Union of Writers. In the first place, according to the Law on the Press, the founder and owner are not the same thing. As the founder our labor collective acquired the legal right to independently establish its own program, to hire and fire its leaders, to dispose of its profit, and that is all. As for property, nobody gives anybody the right to this automatically, the more so by their own will. And we do not claim that the property and money used in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA belong to the editorial staff alone. There is the publishing house, the printing plant, the motor vehicles—without their labor the publication of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA would be impossible, and each of these long-standing partners of ours has an unquestionable right to a part of the property which we have in common up to this point. In general we would not like to divide it into parts. It is another issue that we do not recognize—and we will not recognize—that the right to ownership of all this property (and, essentially, the right to us) belongs to the Union of Writers as a department. There should be no lack of clarity here, and the law has the last word in this issue.

Like all other newspapers, like the entire country, we are preparing for work under the new, much tougher economic conditions of the market. We will not have our previous profits—this we know for sure. The paper,

printing, and delivery will be more expensive and readership might decrease. We will not have to keep track of every million as before, but of every ruble. And if we want to preserve LITERATURNAYA GAZETA the rubles will have to be counted by us ourselves, the people who work there. The Law on the Press gives us this right.

Having become the founders in keeping with this law, we workers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA acquire the status of a corporate body—for the first time in the 70-year existence of the collective! For the first time we are acquiring our own bank account and now the money from subscriptions will go into it. Our incomes will no longer be depersonalized and expenses will be paid to specific parties.

But does this mean that the editorial staff is thinking only about how to deprive the writers of financial support and assistance, as some people are trying to convince the public? Of course not. We will not only not stop financing the literary fund but we are even thinking about introducing new forms of support for writers. We are speaking about additional pensions for writers of the older generation and about stipends for young ones. We hope to increase honorariums for publishing in the newspaper, to subsidize the work of literary scholars on large works, to pay for business trips, and so forth and so on. The amounts and areas for this aid will be under the control of the writers' social-editorial council under the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial staff.

Where are we going to find the money for all this? This is another aspect of our economic concerns right now. Under the new conditions only new forms of management can solve the problems. We will try to organize a joint stock company, probably with the participation of foreign capital, where the Union of Writers will receive a certain number of our shares—this is the proposal we made from the very beginning in negotiations with the secretariat of the Union of Writers. This will give the union a guaranteed income. The writers themselves may also become shareholders, thus participating both in the work and in the profits of the writers' newspaper. We will offer to workers of the printing plant and other services of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA publishing house shares on credit, which will make them participants in the management of the company.

In conclusion we should like to say the following. We do not consider our current disagreements with the apparatus of the Union of Writers to be fatal. Approximately the same thing is happening throughout the country—between ministries and enterprises, between agronomists and peasants, in brief, between the old and new forms of management and social relations. We are convinced that passions will die down and reason will prevail over emotions, and each of us will find our place in the overall business of writing.

The reader cannot but have noted that today the title of our newspaper contains the words "Free Forum of Writers." To make the newspaper free and thus to make a contribution to the free life of each individual in an environment of free people—this is our main goal.

Collective Recognized as Magazine's Founder

PM2009123790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by S. Drozdov: "A Sip of Freedom"]

[Text] Four bottles of champagne for 100 people. Yesterday the OGONEK magazine marked the acquisition of its independence.

You will recall that there were two contending founders of OGONEK—the labor collective of the magazine itself, and the CPSU Central Committee PRAVDA Publishing House. The USSR State Committee for the Press was unable to decide who should come first, and the OGONEK editorial office, tired of waiting, was forced to apply to the courts last Tuesday, 11 September, since the one-month period allowed by law for the State Committee for the Press to deal with the application for registration had long since expired.

From then on everything went smoothly. The following day the PRAVDA Publishing House withdrew its application and gave up its claim to the role of OGONEK's founder. And a day later the State Committee for the Press issued the magazine with registration certificate No. 159, dated 13 September, which states that the founder is the magazine's labor collective. The case was won. Even without legal intervention.

Economic

Silayev on '500 Days' Program, Social Protection

904A0604A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Sep 90 p 1

[Report on interview with I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by unidentified RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondents; place and date not given: "People Need Guarantees"]

[Text] *I. Silayev, Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, held a working meeting with journalists on Friday at the "white house," which is what the newspapers have managed to baptize the Russian parliament building on Krasnopresnenskaya embankment in Moscow. The conversation concerned the "500 days" program, what it promises Russia and the country, what complications could arise during its implementation, and how to overcome them. Our correspondents asked Ivan Stepanovich to answer two questions:*

[Correspondent] In an interview with a television correspondent on Thursday, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said approximately the following: If the Russian program is not accepted by the Union republics, then "500 days" will begin in the republic with the introduction of its own currency. Only if this is the case, it is said, can the

program be implemented within the bounds of the RSFSR. However, how effective will such a step be? What prevents the Union Council of Ministers from blocking it, just as it blocked some of your previous decisions? What do you do then? Once again resort to confrontation, of which the country has already tired?

[Silayev] First of all I would like to mention that, in contrast to the program of the Union government, ours recommends measures to stabilize the ruble. The sale of commodities in short supply for hard currency can lead only to the elimination of the Soviet ruble. There is nothing like this in any state. We believe that it is a mistake to introduce a second currency. A strong one that eventually will crush the weak one. Therefore, in the first hundred days we plan to breathe life into our ruble through a system of economic methods.

We are for its becoming the only one on the territory of our economic union, stimulating normal economic ties according to the principle money-commodity-money, and not as it is now—natural barter. We proceeded from this, I repeat, when we were working on the Russian program. And at the time we tied it in with the interests of the other republics, believing that it would become a Union program. And those republics that planned the introduction of their own currencies abandoned similar intentions as a result. At least for several years.

We are trying to promote the strengthening of our Union. A single market means a single currency. We are not harboring illusions here, and, it is possible that by no means will all republics support this approach: not 14, but let us say 10. But our program also has room for those whom it does not satisfy completely. Let them introduce their own corrections and add their own national features. We are open to any suggestions. And we concur with each individual republic's concluding its own particular treaty. And afterward, the USSR Supreme Soviet should consider this program on the whole as one that is supported with reservations by all of the republics and adopt those laws that should ensure a single market at Union level.

This process cannot be protracted. We had intended to begin implementing the program on 1 October. Incidentally, our treaties with the republics are also an element of the implementation of the "500 days" program. And we asked everywhere that it be reviewed in a short period, including in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

But if our program is rejected, I foresee that the Ukraine, it cannot be excluded, will introduce its own currency. The Ukrainians have already talked about this in a declaration. Indeed, other republics also, including the Baltic republics, will return to the idea of crowns and lats. What will remain for the Russians to do if the economic union collapses? However, I believe that this will not occur.

[Correspondent] Even your supporters, which in our firm conviction also includes RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, note a certain weakness and carelessness in the program of workers' social protection. God forbid that there should be a repetition here in the Union and in Russia of the Nicaragua story, where the workers began to build barricades in response to privatization. What do you think the development of events will be in such a case?

[Silayev] Yes, reproaches about the weakness of the section devoted to the social protection of workers were also heard during discussions of our program in the Supreme Soviet. I think they are just.

But the problem is not that we did not lay out a protective mechanism but that in the text of the program the idea sounded weak. I would like to turn your attention to this: A certain transformation of terms has occurred. Initially, there was talk of social protection. You see another concept in this program—"social guarantees." By the way, there are also changes like this in the governmental program. This is not simply a play on words. We must specifically **guarantee** the protection of the strata of the population insufficiently provided for: students, invalids, pensioners, and families with many children. At the same time we are talking about social guarantees for any member of our society. If they work well, market relations guarantee him high earnings and a secure existence. That is, a deeper, and I would even say philosophical, thought underlies the program.

Although, of course, against the background of guarantees for the able-bodied population the minimum that we propose, for example, for invalids, looks inadequate. We are not forgetting about this, and we are trying to correct the situation now in the course of revising the program.

Presidential Aides Discuss Economic Programs

LD1509160790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1210 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Report on news conference by USSR presidential aides V.N. Ignatenko and N.Ya. Petrakov in Moscow on 13 September—recorded, with comments by announcer]

[Text] [Ignatenko] The topic of our briefing today will be a local one, but you will realize it is a very serious matter. It will deal with economic matters, and our country's present-day economic situation.

[Announcer] At the start, USSR presidential aide Petrakov informed the gathering that documents dealing with the program for transition to the market have been sent for discussion to the republican parliaments and the Union parliament. The package comprises four programs: first, the program prepared by the group of Academician Shatalin under an agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Then there is the government program. Alternative variants from the group of Academician Aganbegyan hae also been submitted, as has a brief summary variant signed by Shatalin and Aganbegyan based on material from the Gorbachev-Yeltsin group and taking into account certain valuable points from the government program.

Assessing the most important points of the Shatalin and government programs, Nikolay Yakovlevich Petrakov said, in part:

[Petrakov] We are now moving away from the monopoly of state property. State proiperty is not the same as socialist property, and in general when talk begins about where we are moving to, socialism or capitalism, I would like first an answer to the question of what is socialism and what is capitalism. I do not know a precise answer to this question, although all my life I have studied social sciences as propounded by our Soviet professors. If it is the system that Stalin created, then we renounce such socialism and do not want to have anything in common with it. We must create an efficient economy. Let us at the end of the 20th century at least be pragmatists. Our program is based on the assumption that what we must do is to reduce the budget deficit as much as possible and stabilize the amount of money in circulation.

The initial point of our program is to create a firm monetary system. As you will be aware, a disintegration of the Soviet monetary system is occurring at the present time, in the framework of the administrative economic management system. As distinct from our program, the government program is based on the fact that they want to start the move towards the market with a steep increase in retail prices, an administrative increaes in retail prices. An overall increase in retail prices of 135 billion rubles [R] is planned. This is what the government has announced. But the government says that it has the interests of people at heart, and that it is going to compensate fully for all of this R135 billion in the form of increments to pay, pensions and so on. Our calculations show that it is impossible to compensate these price increases fairly for all sections of the population.

But the most crucial thing here is this. Where will the money for the compensation from from? The government has no resources stored up. The government has an enormous budget deficit. Consequently, this compensation of R135 billion will be effected through the issue of money. This will be a very hard inflationary blow to our economy. The government has an enormous budget deficit. Consequently, this compensation of R135 billion will be effected through the issue of money. This will be a very hard inflationary blow to our economy. The point is that the discussions now are not about what must be done. It is clear that we must move toward a market economy because there is no alternative, because the former management methods have been discredited. But the question is how to proceed—what costs can be borne on the way to a market economy? And we believe that our path is more practicable and more charitable for our population.

[Announcer] The next question which aroused the most interest was the question on the interaction between republics in market conditions.

[Petrakov] Our program contains the idea of the republics concluding an economic alliance. We believe that this would be the first step toward creating a Union treaty. And it does not have to be called an economic alliance. It can be called an economic agreement between republics. But at the basis of this agreement there must lie, of course, the principle of single economic space, that is, single currency, single banking system, and a single taxation system. And the main thing here is that it is not the territories or republics but firms, entrepreneurs, farmers, and so on, that must be involved in trading in our future market, if it is created, of course. In other words, the business entity must be a commercial or an economic enterprise rather than regions. The region, on the other hand, must levy taxes and evidently pay a certain federal tax.

[Announcer] In market conditions, according to a Western correspondent, bankruptcy and unemployment are inevitable. What is being envisaged to alleviate these phenomena?

[Petrakov] As to the bankruptcy of enterprises, our credit and banking system must indeed be transformed into a Western type. We keep writing about this, and we believe that it is not necessary to invent anything new but one must use the achievements which are in hand in the field of the banking credit business in the United States and other Western countries.

In this sense you are right that the new credit system will not be providing the kind of credits one can obtain now—the credits which are supporting poorly performing enterprises. Therefore bankruptcy is of course inevitable. But it is difficult to give a precise quantative forecast of these bankruptcies because it is not always clear what are the causes of poor performance at various enterprises. Each individual case should be considered separately and in the appendix to our program there is a special bill on bankruptcies.

The problem of unemployment is more difficult. Here we do indeed see that there is an unemployment problem, but it is not a problem of a jobs shortage, but a problem of hypertrophy in the distribution of jobs. And if you talk from the point of view of a need for manpower, we have no need to fear unemployment. For the next five or seven years we are going to continue to have a very great need for manpower. As far as foreign backing is concerned, the point is this: We have not incorporated this matter specially in our program. We believe that we must use our own efforts to extricate ourselves from the crisis in which we find ourselves. But on the other hand, if the world community does give us some backing, that will be a very positive factor. It will help to ease a whole series of difficulties, particularly at the first stage.

[Announcer] As one knows, the situation in central and East European countries has changed. How will relations with them develop in present-day circumstances?

[Petrakov] You will know that in the past our relations were encumbered with all sorts of political factors. Now the political factors have been put on one side. And

many agreements with the countries of East Europe have no doubt lost all their significance, because even the names of many of these countries have changed. And we are saying quite clearly that we are switching to a freely convertible currency, switching to the principle of mutual advantage with all countries. I think this is a normal form of development. I do not think one should counter this logic in any way.

[Announcer] Many republics have adopted sovereignty declarations, and are free to pick their own plan—one of four. Given the contradictions in the programs, how are they going to cooperate in the context of the present Union?

[Petrakov] The point is this. You and I have always criticized our society for the absence of alternatives. Now—perhaps contrary to what people would have liked—a situation has arisen in which various alternatives exist, and a choice has to be made. You are of course right that our members of parliament are not perhaps ready for this. They have become used to the idea that only a single option is presented to them. But a choice does finally have to be made here. It seems to me that here we have an opportunity for people to display their erudition and genuinely and quite responsibly choose what the country needs.

Komsomol Claims Cooperation With Shatalin Group

PM1909125390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 p 2

[All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Press Group report: "Ready To Cooperate"]

[Text] Reports are appearing in the mass media that a whole host of ministries and departments have refused to give essential information to Academician Shatalin's group, which is working on the elaboration of the "500 days" program. Named among them is the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

Lately the Komsomol Central Committee has repeatedly spoken in favor of radicalizing economic reforms and transition to the market.

Therefore we consider it impermissible for any department and organization to ignore the inquiries of the working group, invested with the authority of the USSR president and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

If such information is needed during completion of the program, the Komsomol Central Committee is prepared to answer the most varied inquiries, which up to now have not reached us.

Scientists, Industrialists Appeal on Economic Plan

PM1709140990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Appeal from Scientific and Industrial Union"]

[Text] "The complexity and depth of the economic and sociopolitical crisis the country is experiencing require the consolidation of all progressive forces around positive ideas and programs which provide for the overcoming of the negative phenomena which could attend the transition to the market. The main thing is undoubtedly the need to ensure the social protection of our people. Any other path will lead us to an impasse."

This is stated in an appeal from the USSR Scientific and Industrial Union to the USSR and Union republic people's deputies. The USSR Scientific and Industrial Union, which represents the interests of Soviet industry, construction, transport, and public associations, is worried by the unhealthy, nervous atmosphere which is taking shape around the discussion of alternative drafts and options for the program for transition to a market economy. The telegrams it is receiving from the labor collectives protest against the emergence of group, party, and departmental ambitions demonstrated in the speeches of some USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputies and also in individual publications and items in the mass media.

The USSR Scientific and Industrial Union states its support for the USSR president's decision to submit for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Union republic supreme soviets the document of the conciliation commission based on the proposals of the S.S. Shatalin and G.A. Yavlinskiy group and is considering a number of important proposals from the country's government and other alternative projects for the transition to the market.

The appeal notes the need for the priority examination and adoption of the law "on entrepreneurship in the USSR," whose draft was elaborated and approved by the congress of the USSR Scientific and Industrial Union and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"In these critical days we appeal to the supreme legislative organs of the country and the republics and to all public organizations to discuss promptly and fruitfully and in a calm atmosphere the program suggested by the USSR president, which opens the way to the creation of a single all-Union market for the sake of the interests of every Soviet person," the document stresses.

August Statistics Show Economy 'Deteriorated'

PM1709095590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Romanyuk under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "August: Pace Continued To Decline"]

[Text] According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics operational data, in August 1990 the situation in the economy deteriorated still further. Whereas for the first eight months as a whole the volume of industrial production was 0.7 percent lower than for the same period last year, for August it was 1.7 percent lower.

The amount of working time this month was the same as a year ago, in August 1989. Essentially this is the sharpest decline yet this year.

V. Tolkushkin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, believes that this has been affected by the destruction of economic ties at all levels—Union, republican, and direct ties between enterprises. Whereas before we were talking of the loss from strikes, social and interethnic conflicts, and the mass halting of production for ecological reasons, today we are observing a decline in production for the majority of republics. And the breaking of economic ties has had the most graphic effect on the August results.

Only Belorussia, Moldova, and Tadzhikistan did not reduce their industrial production volumes. Estonia maintained last year's level while the others completed August "in debit." And in a number of cases the August indicators were considerably worse than the eight-month average. According to the results for the eight months Armenia has reduced industrial production by seven percent while the figure for August was 13.8 percent, the figures for Georgia are 5.7 and 5.9 percent respectively and for Latvia 0.9 and 2.8 percent. Of the Baltic republics the situation is perhaps stabilizing only in Lithuania: In August, after the lifting of sanctions, the republic's industry virtually reached last year's level.

The main indicator of the disruption of economic ties is the fulfillment of contract commitments. In that respect August is also characteristic. If all preceding months had on average brought a shortfall of approximately 900 million rubles [R] in August consumers failed to receive output worth R1.5 billion. On the whole contract commitments were fulfilled 98.4 percent. Here the biggest lag was allowed by enterprises situated on the territory of Armenia (89), Azerbaijan (92), Georgia (95), and Lithuanian (96).

And I would not reduce the entire matter to violations of economic relations. Violations of manufacturing discipline and the reduction of purchases for the import of raw and other materials are having an effect. Hence the general decline in production for the majority of republics.

If you look at the situation in a cross-section of national economic complexes, it is very contradictory. In the fuel and energy complex there has been a decline of five percent in the extraction of oil and coal compared with January through August 1989 but the extraction of gas was three percent higher than last year's level. The shortage of coke has affected metallurgy: One million tonnes less finished rolled metal was obtained than stipulated by the plans of the enterprises themselves. The situation has not improved in the chemical and timber complex: The production of basic raw material products is decline and that means that the national economy will receive less plastic, chemical fibers and yarns, paper, and soft roofing materials.

Only the machine builders have somewhat increased volumes: By 2.5 percent compared with January through August 1989. But here too production is declining for individual groups of machines: Over the eight months 13 percent fewer diesel locomotives, five percent fewer electric locomotives and passenger cars, and eight percent less equipment for livestock raising and feed production were produced.

There are no special changes on the consumer market. It is true that the defense complex is continuing stably to build up the output of cultural and consumer articles. In the eight months the production of color television sets rose 15 percent, the production of washing machines—18 percent; of tape recorders—10 percent; of radio receivers—nine percent; and domestic sewing machines—eight percent.

An increase has also been achieved in the production of some necessities. Six percent more electric teamakers, eight percent more aluminum dishes, 10 percent more detergents, and eight percent more galvanic cells were produced than in January through August 1989. And almost as many school exercise books were produced as a year ago (but at the time we had an aggravated deficit!), seven percent less toothpaste was produced, and there was also a reduction in the production of pencils in wood casings. Finally, in August we obtained a certain increase in the production of stainless steel safety razor blades, although on the basis of the eight-month results here too last year's level was not reached.

The lines are not getting smaller outside the tobacco kiosks and moreover "tobacco rebellions" have extended as far as Siberia. I do not know whether it can be considered an achievement that whereas over the first eight months of the year 10 percent fewer tobacco articles were produced than last year while for August the figure was only five percent less. We should not expect a breakthrough. Overall over the eight months the tobacco factories produced 6.8 billion fewer cigarettes and papirosy [traditional Russian cigarettes] than proposed by their own plans and nearly 20 billion fewer than the same period last year!

A minimal increase has been obtained in light industry. The production of leather footwear remained at the former level but six percent less rubber footwear was produced. The production of all types of textiles declined two percent—let us remember the above-mentioned lag in the production of synthetic yarns and fibers. There is a direct link here.

We shall make a very brief mention of the food shelves: Compared with last year the production of pasta, flour, and whole milk produce has increased one to two percent. But three percent less meat from state stocks' raw

material, one percent less margarine, four percent less groats, and 0.7 percent less vegetable oil were produced.

When I asked Vladimir Ivanovich Tolkushkin about the state of the production rhythm he shrugged: What rhythm can there be when economic ties are being broken everywhere? Incidentally, today during the conclusion of contracts, the rhythm for next year is in many ways being set. So far there is nothing gratifying: In all only 25 percent of the volume of contracts which the enterprises plan to include in their programs have been fulfilled. That is equivalent to two months less than as of 1 September 1989. We are advancing toward a market economy, but the market is not an elemental force, not chaos, but above all the strict fulfillment of economic commitments. In a civilized country the violation of delivery terms entails sanctions and the need for compensation. It is time that we too master civilized forms of economic management. Otherwise we will not get out of the regime of stagnation. Yet after all we do want more!

USSR Living Standards Data Cited

PM2009104790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 p 1

[I. Sichka article under the "Parliamentary Debates" rubric: "What Do We Stand To Lose? Empty Shelves, Endless Waiting Lines, Meager Pay, and the Mere Semblance of Social Justice"]

[Text] It is part of the Soviet people's traditions to discuss (to condemn, to extol—underline as required) what no one has actually seen. Movies, books, philosophical doctrines, our successes, their shortcomings... Lances have been broken during the last two weeks over the program for transition to the market elaborated by Academician Shatalin's group. No one has yet actually cast eyes on this program, generally called "500 days," but our intimidated population already shudder at the very word "market."

I first got my hands on the full text of "500 days" the day before yesterday, at Russian Prime Minister I. Silayev's news conference. Naturally, I immediately buried myself in the thick brochure that still smelt of printer's ink. There is more than enough food for thought in it. And it would be pure adventurism to attempt to paraphrase it all straight off. But I was simply stunned by certain matters which accompanied the elaboration of the program.

It turns out that a whole series of key ministries and departments simply ignored requests for information from a working group that was invested with the authority of the country's President M. Gorbachev, and Russia's Supreme Soviet Chairman B. Yeltsin. The USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, the Ministry of Defense, the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs, the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] Central Committee, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions refused to give information altogether. The Ministry of Finance and the State Committee on Prices responded only partially to the requests.

The group worked in circumstances which were far from most-favored-partner conditions. To put it more simply, its work was simply sabotaged. Evidently there is something to hide, and there are reasons for this. It seems to me that it is not just a drastic transition to the market which could prove to be "shock therapy" for us—the whole truth about the way we live now could have the same effect. Despite the fact that we know much already.

In one of its sections, the program cites an estimate of the minimal consumer budget of a man of working age made by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems in 1989. That is to say, the level of satisfaction of needs which society (or rather, the government as represented by the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems) considers the minimum permissible for a man to be able to remain a man.

So then, "a guide to the complete gentleman." First condition: A man should earn a minimum of 138.2 rubles [R] a month. On this pay, a man can allow himself to spend R51 a month on food. His annual consumption will thus comprise (the list is a long one; I cite from it selectively): 183 kg of bread, bakery products, and rusks; 7.3 kg of macaroni and vermicelli; 10.9 kg of pork; 1.1 kg of chicken; 1.1 kg of sausage; 24.5 kg of all types of fish (including 0.3 kg of canned sprats in oil); 184.3 kg of milk; 3.6 kg of butter; 146 kg of potatoes; 18.2 kg of fresh tomatoes; 0.5 kg of lemons; 1 kg of grapes; 0.5 kg of tea. Coffee does not appear on the list.

A man can spend R3.53 a month for cultural and enlightenment purposes and leisure, and R3.36 on health and hygiene items and medicines. (In the process, he should make do with two boxes of detergent, one toothbrush, one comb, and so on over the whole year). In order to be a man, it is sufficient to spend R8 a year on flowers and R22.30 on gifts. Smoking should cost R19.20 a year, calculated at 8 packets at 20 kopeks a month.

Footwear, clothes, and consumer durables are separate items. A man can allow himself to buy a winter coat once every seven years; a wool suit—one every three years; warm boots—once every three years; and leather shoes—once every two years; he can allow himself new pajamas once every two years, and a new fur hat—once every three years. The latter, if truth be said, should cost no more than R19, the shoes not more than R30, and the boots not more than R40...

He can allow himself a 200-ruble television set once every 12 years, and a 150-ruble refrigerator every 15 years. You can translate this into normal prices and make the relevant corrections for yourselves.

It is impossible to bring oneself to call people with such a level of consumption disadvantaged. This is poverty.

But even according to official statistics, 40 percent of the whole population are "disadvantaged." And according to unofficial statistics, it may be as high as 80 percent. Should they fear the market? Or are we working on the principle: The less a man has, the more he values it?

Some people point toward Western countries with a market economy and say: "Look, they have the market there, and things are all right, people live well enough..." Others reply: "Don't you point at the West, some people over there have everything while others have nothing."

People tried to persuade us for a long time, and they finally convinced us that U.S. prosperity, for example, was based on deceptive statistics: One billionaire in Manhattan is averaged out with 100 unemployed blacks in Harlem, and the result is 100 millionaires. But what about straight talk, without tricks based on the different value of the ruble and the dollar? How much time does a worker in, for example, the automotive industry, have to work in order to buy himself the identical goods? A worker works 12.6 minutes for a kilogram of bread in the USSR, 5.8 minutes in the United States, and 18.8 minutes in China. The corresponding figures for one kilogram of beef are: 1 hour and 29.8 minutes; 13 minutes; 1 hour and 15 minutes. For one kilogram of chicken—2 hours and 16.9 minutes; 9 minutes; 37.5 minutes. For a kilogram of sugar—45.3 minutes; 3.5 minutes; 22.5 minutes. For a wool suit—137 hours and 22 minutes; 10 hours and 45 minutes; 87 hours and 15 minutes. For men's shoes—26 hours and 43 minutes; 2 hours and 15 minutes; 12 hours and 30 minutes. For a color television set—534 hours and 12 minutes; 31 hours; 187 hours. For a car—4961 hours; 753 hours; 3490 hours...

Enough, I will not wear you out further with figures. Amongst basic goods, there is not a single item that VAZ [Volga Motor Vehicles PLant] worker Ivanov would acquire more easily than Ford worker Jones. The only exception is our celebrated cheap housing. In order to pay the monthly rental for a two-room flat, you have to work 9 hours and 10 minutes, compared with 21 hours in the United States. But it is not rich America that astonishes most in this comparison but, as you can see for yourselves, China.

All the figures I have cited are taken from the situation as of 1988. Any comparison today is simply theoretical: The majority of goods have already disappeared from the shelves.

I. Silayev was asked by a journalist at the news conference: Is the government convinced that Russia needs the "500 days", perhaps a referendum should be held? He replied: Further retreat is now impossible; if I were sure that people were prepared to put up with all these outrages for a few more years yet, then it would be possible to talk about a referendum and much else besides...

Or will we continue to put up with them all the same? The only point to be borne in mind is that the level of incomes promised by the Union government and geared to the current minimum living wage may not only consolidate our poverty, but even ensure its expanded reproduction. At least, so the Shatalin group believes.

Yakovlev Meets Conference Participants

LD1809203390 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Member of the Soviet Presidential Council Aleksandr Yakovlev today met a group of participants in the international conference "The Soviet Union on the Road to a Market."

The conference is held in Moscow on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee, the Academy of National Economy at the Soviet Council of Ministers, the U.S. Institute of Global Economic Development, and the Amsov Consulting Group.

Yakovlev informed them of Perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union, the tasks and aims of the economic reform and the transition to a market economy, and new interrelations within the framework of the renovated federation.

Participants in the meeting showed interest in strengthening contacts with Soviet partners.

Conditions at Soviet-FRG Joint Venture Praised

PM1909124990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted noting that the Soviet-FRG "Aquarius Systems Integral" joint venture plant in Shuya, Ivanovo Oblast, will be producing over 500,000 computers a year by the end of 1992]

[Announcer] Just 66 people work at the Shuya plant. They are all trained, highly professional specialists. Even the machine operators on the production line have higher education. The average pay is 450 rubles a month plus bonuses. One other important detail—there are no trade union organizations at the plant. All the concerns as regards workers' social welfare are shouldered by the firm. The firm has its own medical center, hospital beds, and its own store. But even this is a sober calculation on the part of the entrepreneurs who are investing their money first and foremost in people. If the workers are happy at work and content with their lives, then their output will be excellent. The rest is up to the management. Although the firm is not averse to charitable donations. Fully equipped computer classes have been supplied free of charge to the Moscow Classics College and the Shuya Children's Home. Well this is at last reviving a Russian tradition—charity and business have always gone hand in hand. [passage omitted]

Moves Begin Toward Free Enterprise Zone

PM1309141690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report from Chita Oblast by A. Bardo and N. Osipov From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reporter] The creation of a free enterprise zone is a vitally important measure for the region, perhaps the only opportunity to emerge from neglect and ruin. But will good times come soon for the people of Transbaykal, worn out as they are by universal shortages?

[B.P. Ivanov, first deputy chairman of Chita Oblast Soviet Executive Committee and chief of the Main Planning and Economic Administration] This question is traditionally asked by everyone I meet. It all depends, of course, on how our republic's Supreme Soviet and the republic government receive our proposals. And if the proposals are accepted as a full package, as we have formulated them, this will create precisely the conditions we need, and in the new two or three years we will obtain a return.

[Reporter] The "Fiton" joint Soviet-Korean enterprise for the manufacture of medical preparations is in operation in Chita. Or take another example. The workers have bought a commercial equipment plant from the state. The collective has become a legal entity with all the rights of a true proprietor. It is planned to create, on the basis of this plant, Transbaykal's first joint-stock company. All this is, of course, already known to foreign businessmen, who, wasting no time, and bravely bearing the burdens of Transbaykal's far from importunate service sector, are nonetheless coming to Chita on reconnaissance trips.

First Independent International Bank Announced

LD1609224890 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] The creation of the first independent international bank has just been announced. Called Baykalbank, it's joined the list of other commercial banks in the country which have hard currency accounts. Baykalbank is an international joint stock company. Among its foreign shareholders are the Canadian (?Lachlan) Associates Inc, the West German Heinemann Maschinen- und Anlagenbau, and the Austrian International Business Consulting Firm.

As securities they have been given the rights to natural resources in certain parts of the country. Baykalbank's primary job is to finance free economic zones. It also has a special interest in financing the economic development of the area along the Baykal-Amur railway in Siberia.

Republic Bank Representatives Discuss Cooperation

PM2009150790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Useful Meeting"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of representatives of republican banks—of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Georgian SSR, the Latvian Republic, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Estonian Republic—was held in Moscow at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Bank Board. During the meeting the participants exchanged opinions on the possibilities and ways of developing business ties among the republican banks under conditions of transition to the market.

The existence of common problems in the money and credit sphere concerning, above all, national currencies, ruble convertibility, the commercialization of banks, and the organization of a council of the republics' central banks demands close cooperation and regular consultations among the republican banks' leaders and experts. It is deemed necessary to widen the composition of the participants in such meetings so that subsequent consultations are held with representatives of all republican central banks.

Joint Stock Agro-Industrial Bank Established

LD1709174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Summary] The USSR State Bank registered today a joint-stock commercial agroindustrial bank. This new credit and finance institution aims to facilitate the solution of socio-economic issues in the agrarian sector and to protect the interests of its shareholders.

Moscow TV Airs Gold-Mining Problems

LD1909160790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] One of the many goldmines in Bodaybinskiy Rayon, Irkutsk Oblast. We have been told that the recovery of 3.5 grams of gold per tonne of ore is profitable here. So why is the country's gold industry eking out a miserable existence? The nub of the problem is that the precious metal's selling price hardly covers the expense of recovery. In recent decades the gold prospectors' work has been seen by state enterprises as a guaranteed source of income, and they have been unable to part with it. Moreover, in the era of financial autonomy and economic independence, this trend has brazenly started gaining currency. Last year the Zapsibzoloto [Western Siberian Gold] Association received 3.5 million rubles from the artels. This year they plan for 9 million rubles.

The system of wringing profits from the prospectors is not complicated and is based on the centralized system

of state mining which has developed. The members of the artels are paid 12 rubles per gram of gold. It is a case of unwarranted acquisition by the superior state structures of a proportion of the labor of the artel members, or, to put it more simply, their exploitation.

This spring the artels staged a quiet strike. There were no program statements or noisy meetings. Quite simply, at the start of the prospecting season in the country, no contracts were concluded between the mining combines Severovostokzoloto [Northeast Gold] and Yakutzoloto [Yakut Gold] associations and more than half the artels, and between Zabaykalzoloto [Transbaykal Gold] and three- quarters of the artels. The prospectors' spring strike ended in total defeat: Almost all were forced to agree contracts under slave-style terms. A few are still holding out. The Siberian prospectors are agonizing over the question: Surely Russia must need the gold? The answer to this was supplied by recent events, when TASS carried news of the sale of our gold abroad for huge sums. At the same time, Yakut diamonds were sold for almost five years ahead.

It turned out not easy to confirm this kind of information. but then a decision of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet on protecting the economic basis of the sovereignty of the RSFSR was published. It says that there are major deals for the sale by union bodies of Russia's natural resources. The presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet deemed the deals which had been done invalid. It is hard to imagine, said Fedorov, RSFSR minister of justice, that the raw material wealth of the United States could be sold off without the agreement of Congress and without debate.

One symptom of the unfavorable situation on the world financial markets is the rapid rise in gold prices. Before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait $375 was being paid per Troy ounce on the main gold markets. At the end of August the price was $394, and now, with deals being concluded for December, the price for this metal is approaching $450, a high for the year.

The export of gold could, as a result of the price increases, bring the USSR in an additional $250 million. (Roger Rubinson), a former employee of the National Security Agency under Reagan, thinks that Soviet gold dealers effectively promoted the price rise by quitting the gold market, where they had been selling their strategic reserves at dumping prices. In recent months, according to him, the USSR has sold more than its annual output of gold just to stay afloat.

Defense Plant To Produce Agricultural Equipment

PM2109101390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 90

[Report by L. Krechetova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Conversion is not only a much debated topic in our country, it is also the target of jokes, even if they betray a tinge of black humor. Here is an example: When Soviet television sets explode, is it for peaceful purposes or for the sake of perfecting military hardware? It is no joke however, if you consider that television sets—just like many radios, washing machines, and refrigerators—are produced at defense industry enterprises in our country. In view of this, the proposal by certain economists to take 20 percent of military plants from under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense and turn them into a high-tech sector of civilian industry is quite understandable. At present, however, only five or six of some 400 defense industry enterprises are being entirely converted to civilian production.

[Correspondent] Manned and cargo spacecraft delivery vehicles are the main output of this plant. Naturally, the gigantic bodies of these rockets have little in common with tiny medical syringes, apart from the equally exacting demands on the precision of the production process. Nonetheless, the collective of this plant has agreed to start up the production of these syringes in premises vacated for this purpose within the framework of conversion. Production equipment is currently being installed with the assistance of specialists from the West German Transproject Company [as heard]. The capacity of the new production facility is 300 million disposable syringes per year. The first output will be produced toward the end of the current year.

[A.A. Chizhov, director of the Progress Plant and USSR people's deputy] In my opinion, all the plants have been ill-prepared to embark on conversion. Not enough thought went into the conversion. Well-planned and sensible conversion should take account of available technological and structural experience, and of production equipment already in place. Take our plant for example, syringes are a totaly new type of output, what is needed is a [new] plant within the [existing] plant.

Together with the design bureau and the general designer, we are now developing facilities for the production of equipment for the storage and processing of grain and the production of oil and flour. The thought behind it is this: Since we have the technology and the metal, we could manufacture these complexes and install them initially in all the rayons of Kuybyshev Oblast, and later also in other oblasts, thus approaching agriculture from an entirely different, from an automated and cost-efficient angle if you like. [video shows blueprints of facilities for storage, cleansing, and processing of sunflower, buckwheat, and grain, consisting of silos each including an administrative and automated control system building]

[Correspondent] Another aspect is the incomparably higher level of automation and reliability of these compact module-type plants capable of accepting grain of any humidity, sunflower seeds, and buckwheat, storing them, and processing them if necessary. It is a question of closed-circuit waste-free production units, to be installed, what is more, locally, on farms. The first such

module will be built and put into operation on one of the oblast's sovkhozes [state farms] within a year or 18 months.

Plan Fulfillment Required for More Resources

PM2109102790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers: On Incentives for the Delivery of Meat Products to All-Union Stocks"]

[Text] Additional equipment and materials that are in short supply have been found in order to provide incentives for shipping meat and meat products to all-Union stocks. Some 2,000 "Volga" cars, trucks, buses, and tractors, along with pipes and metal have been allocated for these purposes.

These resources will be allocated to the Union republics if in September-December this year they meet the monthly targets set by the state orders for shipments of meat and meat products to all-Union consumers, including the cities of Moscow and Leningrad.

The material and technical resources will be allocated 20 days after the plan for the shipment of meat products is fulfilled.

Lease System Boosts Cotton Growers' Earnings

PM1309134990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report by Mukhtar Ganiyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ganiyev] Attitudes toward work here are changing.

[U. Karimov, state farm director] Yes, a very great deal has changed. But we are getting used to the good things and we think that is the way things should be. The area sown to cotton has been considerably reduced. All kinds of cultivation have appeared—feed, vegetables, orchards, and vineyards. People are interested in the land as if it were their own. Whereas before people had to be urged to work hard, lease collectives are now earning them money. The state price for cotton has increased—people are earning money not for gross output but for the actual cotton. People are getting interested in arable farming. This year the price set for a tonne of early raw cotton was 10 rubles [R], but we added another R6 out of our reserves. The peasants now want to harvest all the raw cotton by combine. There is no other way of doing things here. There is no spare labor in the virgin lands.

[Ganiyev] [Video shows tractors hauling cotton] So the harvest campaign in the republic is picking up speed. There are now two leasehold units here. Dukhalil Telyabov and Naybay Merkulov were the first people in Uzbekistan to fulfill the harvest plan—in the space of just three days. Machine operators Sadlyk Kuchkarov and Ashmurat Dvigmatov are harvesting up to 10 tonnes of raw cotton a day. I think that this is the way things should be. After all, we are working for ourselves and for our own prosperity.

Moscow Market Featured; Prices Examined

PM1409133590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1515 GMT 3 Sep 90

[From the "We and the Economy" program, presented by commentator Valeriy Makeyev]

[Excerpt] [Makeyev] Good Evening! The theme of our broadcast today is "Prices and the Market." We are living through a highly critical period in our history resulting from mounting political, economic, and social tensions in our society. We are moving toward market relations. And while the mechanism of the transition toward the market is being elaborated, while economists are arguing whether prices should go up or not, life dictates its own conditions. Prices are rising, as we were able to witness quite recently when we filmed the following reportage. Here is a snapshot of our present-day reality.

[Correspondent] The Riga Market in Moscow is a kind of barometer which serves as a guideline for prices for food sold at markets. You will be familiar with the saying: "A price like on the Riga Market!" [meaning exorbitant]

Five years ago a glass of sunflower seeds [unshelled] like this one, or rather twice as big a glass, cost 10 kopeks; today it costs 30....

[Stall keeper] Thirtyfive...

[Correspondent] Twentyfive?

[Stall keeper] Thirtyfive.

[Correspondent] Thirtyfive kopeks. That's devaluation for you!

[Undidentified voice] There are some at eight [rubles].

[Unidentified voice] No thank you.

[Correspondent] Why are the pickled cucumbers so expensive this year?

[Stall keeper] Because the crop was bad.

[Correspondent] How much were they last year?

[Stall keeper] Last year there was a big crop. Last year you could get pickled cucumbers at three rubles [R], at R2, and even at R1.5. This year is different.

[Correspondent] And if they cost R10, will people buy them?

[Stall keeper] I have no idea.

[Other stall keeper] On the Central Market they cost R10. Go and see.

[Correspondent] How much?

[Unidentified voice] What can I say, 25, 20... [rubles presumably per kilogram of beef] And this is R40.

[Correspondent] Do you regard these prices as normal?

[Stall keeper] Absolutely.

[Customer] I think it is too expensive.

[Correspondent] Expensive?

[Customer] Yes.

[Correspondent] How much did meat cost last year?

[Customer] Well, last year it was R15. At Cheremushki Market, in any case.

[Correspondent] So next year we will have to pay R50?

[Customer] No doubt. We cannot afford this.

[Correspondent] The private dealers hike up the prices, of course.

[Customer] Well, what can you do?

[Correspondent] What is to be done?

[Customer] We will just have to wait until there is meat like this in the [state] stores.

[Pensioner] I read it in the newspaper. Trucks arrive in the suburbs. They unload. And where does it all go to? To the market. There are no goods in the stores. Try going to a store to buy something. Meanwhile a worker has worked for years, has given all this life, has created machines, transport facilities, has created everything to be able to lead a normal life, to clothe himself and to feed himself. And in the end it has come to nothing. A working man gets his pension, but pensions vary widely. Some have access to everything, while others are lucky if they manage keep body and soul together.

[Customer] It is a scandal—R10! When I get R70, do you think I can buy this?

[Correspondent, in front of a stall with rotten peaches] What's the matter? Is no one buying?

[Stall keeper] No one is buying.

[Correspondent] Perhaps the price is too high?

[Stall keeper] No.

[Correspondent] And if all the peaches rot?

[Stall keeper shrugs]

[Correspondent] Today private dealers protect each other, so to speak, in order to keep prices high. And they are assisted in this by the state trade services and their criminal sluggishness. After all, is produce like this really grown only on private plots? What is happening on the fertile fields of our kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. And what has happened to the consumer cooperatives and procurement organizations whose prices are meant to provide competition for private dealers? Today even the private dealer is probably embarrassed at his high prices. But there is only one other representative in the market—the procurement organizations—and there is always a long waiting line. Private dealers are not afraid of competition of this kind. And they set their prices according to the different sizes of customers' pockets.

Now you will see a typical picture of the situation in the consumer goods trade. Waiting lines, people chasing after cheap goods, a situation compounded by shortages.

Here, on Leninskiy Prospekt, three types of trade—state, cooperative, and commission trade—are accommodated under one roof.

We will begin with the first type.

[Customer] [words unintelligible] There is nothing to buy for children. And when there is something, they tell you that you need your passport.

[Sales assistant] Goods are coming in. But turnover is simply crazy.

[Correspondent] Are there fewer goods?

[Sales assistant] No, not fewer. Definitely not fewer.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that demand has gone up?

[Sales assistant] Yes, it began in the spring. Take pants, for instance. Pants would come in and they would stay in the store for a month or six weeks. Now pants come in and they are gone within two hours.

[Correspondent] What is the reason?

[Sales assistant] First, inflation, of course. People are afraid that prices will rise further.

[Correspondent] What about quality? Is it no longer as important...

[Sales assistant] Essentially, quality is no longer an issue. People are after goods, no matter what the quality.

[Correspondent] Am I right in saying that these are cooperative goods?

[Sales assistant] Yes, these are goods produced as a result of cooperative and individual labor activity.

[Correspondent] I can see that the prices here are relatively high, and quality is probably higher too. Is there a demand for these goods?

[Sales assistant] There is a customer for every item.

[Correspondent] People are not put off by the prices?

[Sales assistant] I must say that our prices are not high, relatively speaking, compared with other cooperatives. Goods of this kind on the Riga Market are much more expensive. [video shows goods, mainly clothing and footwear with price tags]

[Correspondent] Do people not ask you why the prices are so high?

[Sales assistant] No. It does not happen very often. You must bear in mind that there are different categories of customers.

[Correspondent] [video shows mainly imported goods with very high price tags] Do you believe that these high prices are more or less justified?

[Manager] I believe that, given the shortages in our country and the large amounts of money which many people have accumulated, these prices are entirely justified. Naturally, not everyone buys here. But for certain people this is the solution. It is better than dealing with backstreet speculators.

[Correspondent] Are there people willing to buy these goods despite the high prices?

[Sales assistant] Strange as it may seem, there are.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what category of citizen is buying these goods?

[Sales assistant] I do not know. We have a society based on equality. There are no categories.

[Correspondent] Could you yourself buy a pair of sports shoes for R300?

[Sales assistant] No.

[Correspondent] Nonetheless, who do you think can buy a pair of sports shoes for R300 or a tracksuit for R500?

[Sales assistant] I do not know.

[Correspondent] Have you never thought about it?

[Sales assistant] I do not care.

[Correspondent] As long as people keep buying.

[Sales assistant] Yes.

[Correspondent] And you would like everything to be distributed equally?

[Customer] Yes, equally. I would like everyone to have what they need, not just a few people. [passage omitted]

Comparison of Gorbachev-Attali Meeting

PM2109082190

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 September 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a TASS report on President Gorbachev's meeting with European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) President Attali. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Conversation With the USSR President," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published on page 41 of the 20 September issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Page 41, column two, last paragraph, PRAVDA begins: [Text] In the Kremlin 19 September Mikhail Gorbachev received.... (deleting dateline, substituting "19 September" for "today")

Page 42, column one, first paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...in the country.

EBRD expert D. Flemming and N.Ya. Petrakov, aide to the USSR President, took part in the talks. (adding paragraph)

Agricultural

Official Interviewed on Grain Harvest Figures

LD2009163490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Interview with Anatoliy Fedorovich Kolenko, deputy head of the State Committee for Statistics Food and Procurements Department, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kolenko] I think it has to be said that the weather did not favor farmers over the past week. It has continued to rain; it has been cool. But, nevertheless, according to the USSR State Committee for Statistics data, grain and pulse crops on collective and state farms have been reaped on 83.1 million hectares. This is 83 percent of the area sown. They have been threshed on 78.2 million hectares—78 percent. Well, there is a certain lag behind last year.

Over the past week farms have worked well in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. They have threshed almost 4.5 million hectares. Russia has made a sizeable gain—4.6 million hectares. The grain yield is somewhat higher than last year. It is now 23.7 quintals per hectare in the country, but individual republics undoubtedly have higher yields. In the Ukraine it is 37 quintals, in Moldova 36.6, in Lithuania 34.3, in Belorussia 32.1, in Estonia 30.4. The total amount threshed in the country is 185.3 million tonnes of grain. This is 7 million tonnes greater than the corresponding period last year.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Fedorovich, the most important thing, and what is giving rise to the greatest apprehension, is the handing over of grain to the state. How are things with this?

[Kolenko] Taking account of the return of loans, 51.7 million tonnes of grain have been stored in the state

reserves. This is 60 percent of the state order. In addition, 83 million tonnes of grain crops have been handed over in exchange for combined fodder. Over the past week 3 million tonnes of grain have arrived at grain reception points. This is 600,000 tonnes more than during the previous week.

[Correspondent] And have the measures adopted by the government to accelerate and stimulate the handing over of grain had a consistent effect?

[Kolenko] Yes, undoubtedly. They have, of course, played a role. But, nevertheless, despite the fact that measures exist to stimulate grain procurements, the rates of storage in state reserves remain low. Farms in the Ukraine, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Armenia have virtually stopped selling grain to the state. Farms in Vladimir, Tver, Kostroma, Smolensk, Yaroslavl, Pensz, Ulyanovsk, Rayazan, Kokchetav, Kustanay, and Tselinograd oblasts as well as Bashkiria, Tataria, and North Ossetia are selling less grain to the state than they are truly capable of doing.

Belorussian Harvest Falling Behind Schedule

LD2009124790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] An extraordinary situation has arisen on potato and vegetable fields in Belorussia. The harvesting operations are obviously falling behind schedule. In many places neither equipment nor people are able to get to soggy fields. Because of bad weather in Vitebsk Oblast, 11 percent of cereals have not yet been harvested. Hundreds of hectares of potatoes have perished. Many thousands of students and town residents have come to help the peasants. The republican Supreme Soviet Commission for Agrarian Issues thinks, however, that urgent measures are needed to save the harvest.

Scientific

Molniya-3 Communications Satellite Launched

LD2109080690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0737 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Sep (TASS)—To ensure the exploitation of remote telephone and telegraph radio communications, relays of USSR Central Television programs to the 'Orbita' network stations, and international cooperation, another communications satellite, 'Molniya-3' was launched by a 'Molniya' carrier rocket in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: apogee 40,782 km in the northern hemisphere; perigee 454 km in the southern hemisphere. The period of revolution of the satellite is 12 hours, 15 minutes, with an orbital inclination of 62.7 degrees.

Communication sessions via the 'Molniya-3' satellite will be carried out in accordance with a scheduled program.

Progress Spacecraft Completes Cargo Mission

LD2009135990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep—TASS special correspondent reports from the flight control center: The "Progress M-4" automatic transport craft, which delivered to the "Mir" station more than two tonnes of various cargoes, has completed its flight. Today, at commands from the flight control center, the cargo craft was oriented in space and at 1504 Moscow time [1104 GMT] its engine was switched on. As a result of braking, the "Progress M-4" craft went into a descent trajectory, entered the dense layers of the atmosphere and ceased to exist.

During its automatic flight the crew observed and recorded artificial plasma formations injected by a device installed on the cargo craft.

In accordance with the plan of work the cosmonauts spent a working week investigating the functional condition of the cardiovascular system using a multicardiographic and an ultrasonic method. An appraisal was made of the set of physical training exercises.

On the "Gallar" installation a nine-day cycle of growing gallium arsenide semiconductor material is being completed. Work is being conducted in preparation for switching on the "Krater-V" electric furnace.

According to telemetric data and the crew's reports, the onboard system of the "Mir" complex are functioning normally.

Military

'Generals' Revolt' at 28th Congress Assailed

90SV0040A Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 33 14-20 Aug 90 pp 24-27

[Article by Aleksandr Pumpyanskiy under the rubric "Polemics": "Stellar Eclipse"]

[Text] **The USSR is the best place in the world to watch a solar eclipse from, a radio announcer declared proudly the other day. This is a most inspiring observation. He forgot to say, though, that the time for that was most opportune. We have had more than our share of catastrophes, unheard-of disturbances and protuberances. Therefore, the revolt of our Colonel-Generals we have witnessed should be regarded as a kind of stellar eclipse.**

May I remind the reader that, to begin with, Colonel-General Rodionov, commander-in-chief of the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District, rebelled against the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in defence of his right (i.e. his duty as a soldier though a

colonel-general) to give orders, that is to have a gathering of protesting men, women and children broken up, regardless of sacrifices.

Colonel-Generals' Revolt

From the platform of the Party Congress, Colonel-General Makashov, Commander-in-Chief of the Privolzhsko-Uralsky Military District, called for stoning the traitors (why not use standard weapons?). He made it perfectly clear to his applauding Partiegenossen that by treason he meant not the giving out of military secrets to the enemy but a certain trend in politics and ideology which does not suit him.

Later, he explained his liking for stones by the profound influence on him of the Bible whence he borrowed the image. However, there transpired another source of inspiration—the letter of Colonel-General Rodionov's to his comrades in arms (and in reason).

This striking coincidence of one general's oral statements with the epistolary style of another (see NT No. 29 for quotations) has led certain observers to the conclusion that the two generals have drawn their inspiration from some other soldier of the ideological front. Judging by the purity of style, he is obviously a purist—the chief purist even, considering the rank of speakers. This hypothesis is waiting for its explorers, of course.

I should like to bring out a few positive factors which have come to the fore in this story.

Kindred spirits. At the higher levels of the military hierarchy it probably takes on absolute forms with the result that the thought and speeches of the "star-spangled" men become indistinguishable.

The triumph of democracy. General Makashov said in so many words later that he believed in pluralism, in the possibility of speaking up, and that he had suffered for that from a gang of pseudo-democrats who pounded on him. How can one fail to sympathise with the general whose best feelings have been insulted?

Rodionov's example is more impressive still. He celebrated the anniversary of the Tbilisi events at the 28th CPSU Congress hall, of all places. In that hall, he distributed leaflets—created by another purist, no doubt—meant to expose A.N. Yakovlev, a member of the Soviet leadership, as a liberal and free-thinker. The general himself confessed to having handed out some 30 illicit leaflets—an outstanding achievement, indeed. Some may call this a clandestine operation, but I regard this as an obvious demonstration. It's good that the general did not succumb to the natural urge to break up the congress, to suppress it by force, or just to expose it to the Cheremukha gas... Democracy!

That both generals quoted the Bible in search of an ideological weapon is, to my mind, an evidence of the triumph of all-human values. In that inexhaustible treasury of the spirit they have certainly found the stone to fit their palms. In this case, however, all-human and class values are at one. After all, a boulder is a weapon of the proletariat.

I Attack the Army

I think I must stop here and change tone. Not that in our society there is a whole class of men totally devoid of the sense of humour and regarding themselves as statesmen solely on this ground. And even not for the reason of someone suspecting that what I am after is not criticizing the two generals, but disarming our whole army.

The theme of "Attacks on the army," mounted now by the ill-meaning press, is very popular in the higher Party and army circles now. Whatever one says in public about the military—the obsession with secrecy, bullying, neglect for the needs of officers and men—the only response is: "malicious slander," "attempts to drive a wedge...," "to undermine the prestige of the army..." It is no use arguing with that, any more than with stones. In all seriousness, no one has undermined the prestige of the army more that the two Colonel-Generals have. No yellow press, no penny-a-liners have outdone Rodionov and Makashov in creating the image of the army as a dull, aggressive and unscrupulous force. What democracy! What humanism and return to the whole family of mankind!

All these are fairy tales for the feeble minded. There are enemies all around. Developed socialism is the acme of civilization, and army life is an ideal of socialism. Now just try and prove that the army is actually different or that it is not all that way where colonel-generals are prepared to protect socialism in individual districts.

I do not know whether I should laugh or cry over this. But as I come to think about the gap between the might of modern weapons and the thinking of those who are to wield them, I do not feel like laughing. This is a precipice we might all fall into.

Some may object that far from all reacted to the statements by Rodionov and Makashov in that way, that to many they became all but an embodiment of the true spirit of the army. This is exactly why I am writing about them. Otherwise, it would have made no sense. They are of no interest to me as individuals.

The stellar eclipse is not merely a whim of two generals. It expresses the arrogance, discontent and fury of the military-industrial complex outraged by the changes in the country and the world.

Antipodes and Twins

Our communication with the West (convergence?) offers amusing surprises sometimes. For a long time now we have been using the word combination "military-industrial complex" exclusively with regard to the West and, naturally, in a sharply negative sense. Presumably, we had none. Then it suddenly appeared—even in the statements of the prime minister but in an entirely

different sense—to designate to a certain sector of the economy (on an analogy with the agroindustrial complex, for instance).

However, the military-industrial complex is not merely a sum total of munitions industries. According to Dwight Eisenhower, who coined the term in his farewell speech in 1961, this is a formidable phenomenon ripened in the midst of the American society in the Cold War years and threatening its normal development. This is a holy alliance of the army, the munitions industry, the policy catering to them (militarized science is added to this of late) which has become a kind of state within a state. It has a sharply pronounced hypertrophied corporative interest of its own, its own notions of good and evil, and has a powerful influence on the making of political decisions and on public opinion. The arms race is to it a normal and natural state, and the relaxation of international tension—a suspicious and dangerous thing because it worsens the military conjuncture. The ideology of the military-industrial complex is simple: what is good for it, is good for society and patriotic; what isn't amounts to treachery.

It is time we have admitted that we have the military-industrial complex, too. We also have a corporative military industrial interest which is at variance—even poles apart with—the interests of civil society.

When in the privacy of an unanimous office a decision is taken (secretly) to build the Krasnoyarsk radar station equal to a few Cheops pyramids contrary to the treaty signed by the USSR, and when this fact (obvious to any satellite flying over Siberia) is denied for years, this is the military-industrial complex in action. When our politicians and diplomats were so hard at it trying to prove that our missiles and our tanks in Europe were nonexistent, that what we had in Afghanistan was not an army but a "limited contingent," and that parity meant the USSR having a nuclear might equal to the aggregate might of the other members of the nuclear club—that was an influence of, or direct instructions from, the military-industrial complex. When the munitions industry resists perestroyka, and demands new fabulous military spending, this comes from the military-industrial complex.

It would seem that the American and Soviet military—industrial complexes are bitterly hostile to one another but, strangely, they are extremely similar and parallel one another. I mean not only the contacts between the military departments of late—this is all in the day's work.

Both complexes need the "enemy image," and both are afraid of losing the enemy; both are seeking, and finding (boosting, if necessary) the traits of aggressiveness on the other side, and the military threat emanating from the other side. While one side uses the "Communist plot" scare, the other side resorts to the "capitalist conspiracy" scare. Some show "cavemen's anti-Communism" to use our term of a few years ago, and others (the Colonel-Generals included) displayed a "caveman's Communism." In the competition for satanizing the enemy, both military-industrial complexes took part, but the queer impression is that they need one another.

Enemies-allies, antipodes-twins... This knot is not easy to untangle but it is necessary to distinguish each time between the interests of society and the egoistic interests of the military-industrial complexes covering themselves up by public need and patriotic rhetorics.

Two Deadly Figures

Eisenhower had warned that the American military industrial complex was getting out of the democratic society's control. (He was saved from stoning by his five-star generalship and two-term presidency). Our own military industrial complex has never been under control. In our case, the scale of its influence on the character and fate of society are different.

At the 28th CPSU Congress two figures were made public for the first time: it turned out, that only a seventh of our industry produced consumer goods, and six sevenths—producer goods (Gorbachev). A fourth of the state budget is assigned to military spending (Shevardnadze). I do not know of a more striking expose of the freakishness of the system. This a system which gives one just a tithe. This is the economy which works for its own sake and is devouring itself. To make the picture complete, I would like to have another figure: the proportion of the economy working not merely for the heavy industry, but for the munitions industry and catering for the military-industrial complex. Presumably, this is a lion's share. In any case, it is higher than any other country's.

This explains why our store shelves are empty of goods. This is not due to perestroyka. Our military socialism has never filled them up. perestroyka has just given our people a bit more money with the result that what had seemed to be a buyers' market disappeared.

For decades, our society was told that the level of the country's economic development was determined exclusively by a few heavy industry indices, and that the place and weight of the state in the world community was determined by its military might.

This philosophy ensured the privileged position of the military-industrial complex which, in a poverty-stricken country, was not denied anything but which could spell the ruination of the country. This is what has actually happened. And now that perestroyka is gingerly trying to change the situation and make it more sensible and humane, the military-industrial complex feels impinged and cries for help through the lips of the colonel-generals.

In their polemics with the press, the army ideologists have come up with a new argument of late. Negative phenomena in the army, they say. How can we do without them? After all, the army is part of society and

shares its ills. This argument could be accepted but for the obvious desire to shun any responsibility and to shift it to much-suffering and meek society.

Our society is in a crisis, indeed. This is a crisis of means and ends. This is a crisis of the entire ideological world outlook based on a bipolar world and on the irreconcilable struggle between two social systems. The fundamental postulate have proved wrong or mendacious. Could the army stand idly by under the circumstances? In a certain sense, it has taken the brunt of the blow.

During the Great Patriotic War, the army was a saver and a hero and, quite deservedly, a universal favourite. The slogan of "All for the Front" was the solely possible formula for the survival of the nation.

During the Cold War, the army seemed to protect the country from numerous threats. True, none of these materialized—but was it because we spared nothing for the army?

What role does the army have to play after the Cold War has come to an end? When it is clear to most people that no one in the West is going to attack us?

The army is now having the crisis of its role. Obviously, it is to change, to become much more modest, economical, professional and civilized. It is not society that works for the army, but the other way round. The army, as an institution of civil democratic society, has its clear-cut functions and sphere of influence... An end is coming to the omnipotence and arbitrary rule of the military-industrial complex.

Concerning Methodology

How can one keep his temper? How can one help being discontented with glasnost which calls things by their proper names and with new thinking which is new in its realism, in its ridding itself of myths and fears, with a foreign policy which solves problems instead of pursuing ideological objectives, which breeds friends instead of enemies? I wrote recently (in Issue No. 26 of the NEW TIMES) about one of such discontented persons—O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. At the CPSU Congress, he confirmed his loyalty to views, which gives credit to his consistence, but calls his position in question. May I quote him: "Contrary to some people's opinion, national security cannot be defended by political and diplomatic methods alone. Remember the pre-war years when our diplomacy triumphed in connection with the signing of the non-aggression pact, with the most horrible war in history to break out shortly."

The secretary of the Central Committee has a bone to pick with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is quite natural in itself. What merits attention here, however, is the very methodology of the dispute, and the character of the arguments offered. In our Foreign Ministry, they actually think that the country's security can be protected by political and diplomatic methods, and that the choice of these methods is ample. However, no one says this can be achieved only through these means. No one doubts the need for the military component. The true argument consists in what this component should be like, where the limit of reasonable sufficiency of military efforts lies. In quests for the answer to this question the contribution of the Central Committee secretary concerned with military problems, could be extremely valuable except that he retires into the wobbly reminiscences of another epoch.

I feel I must put a few more rhetorical questions to the CC secretary. Did the war really happen to us because Stalin had tried to guarantee the country's security by political and diplomatic means only? The tragedy of 22 June was caused not by the naivete of our diplomatic service but by the overall viciousness of the Stalin regime, by imperial ambitions.

This is a subject in its own right which should hardly be dealt with just in passing. But still, what does Oleg Dmitriyevich mean by recalling this tragedy? Is he trying to say that our current diplomacy is an unrealistic as it was in 1939? In that case, which treaties does he identify with the disgraceful Molotov-Ribbentrop pact—the IMF one, perhaps? Or the coming agreements on deep cuts in strategic and conventional arms in Europe?

Does he think that Moscow is now pacifying the West like Stalin did Hitler? That the West is now threatening us with a perfidious attack which our politicians turn a blind eye to? Who, specifically, threatens us with a crusade: Bush, Thatcher, Kohl, Mitterrand, Andreotti? Or, say Colonel Woerner (Reserve), NATO secretary general, who has visited Moscow recently? It was for nothing that he lulled us into complacency by reasoning that 16 democratic states are physically incapable of agreeing on attacking anyone?

The military complex needs the atmosphere of irrational fear: it enables it to exist carefree, without control and competition. If war breaks out tomorrow, what kind of sensible sufficiency can we talk about?

Gherman Kiriyenko, major general and doctor of military sciences, protected the Central Committee Secretary from me in the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA column. I do not feel at all like carrying on the discussion, but the very admission of the military scientist is interesting in itself. He writes:

"In the opinion of A. Pumpiansky, the threat to the country has reduced sharply over the past years and months." I admit that a few years and even months ago the journalist sensed heightened danger. But I must disappoint him by the fact that the threat to the country over the past few years and months has neither increased, nor diminished. It simply has not existed. As for the war danger, it has been and remains. And the likelihood of power politics towards us increases as the USSR's military and military-economic potential dwindles."

I am a peaceful man, and I do not even contemplate taking up arms against the existing order of things. And I really find it hard to understand the difference between a "threat" and a "danger," Thanks to the military scientist, however, I understood the fundamental fact: another 22 June is not imminent. There is no threat to the nation. And there hasn't been any—even when the Cold War was at its worst. It turns out that even before I could not succumb to the feeling of the threat which, using my gullibility, official statements by the military or such publications of the Ministry of Defence as "Who Threatens World Peace" caused in me.

It follows from this that our active participation in the arms race was at least arbitrary and not justified. And that the military effort should and must be curbed. But departmental military science does not want to recognize that. Hence the danger which, though not a threat, is also a formidable scarecrow. As incidentally another nightmare—the "probability of power pressure" which allegedly threatens us to an ever greater extent.

In 1946, when the Americans had the atomic bomb and the USSR didn't, we, war-ravaged, were not suppressed. On the days of the Caribbean crisis when the Americans had an overwhelming superiority in missiles, they did not suppress us, either. Tiny Albania was not suppressed by anyone, even by us. Tiny Cuba, which is letting itself go right under America's nose, has not been suppressed. And we shall be suppressed by all means if we succumb to the arms cuts temptations.

Come off it! No one has ever tried to impose anything on us—the GULAGS, human rights, genetics, cybernetics, pluralism, the market economy, nothing, until we arrived at the universal human values ourselves and at the realization that we are not the God-accursed lot.

Now we are scared by the horrors involved in reaching an agreement with the West and by disarmament. What is the light at the end of the tunnel for civil society is the end of the world to the military-industrial complex.

Meeting in a Submarine

Another scarecrow is that of depolitization or, as they say, departization of the army. What is there to be afraid of? The entire civilized world has long arrived at the naturalness of this idea: where there are weapons, there should be no ideological struggle, the army should be outside politics.

Army is counterindicated to politics because political problems cannot be solved by means of tanks, submachine guns or even by entrenching shovels. But politics, in its turn, is counterindicated to the army. Just imagine inter-party struggle abroad an atomic submarine, and you will see the truth of this. And when the top brass stubbornly reiterate that the"Army is the vanguard of the Party," they have a tongue in their cheeks. They are trying to keep the type of the party leadership under which the military-industrial complex is boss.

They are working in amazing accord. Generals swear allegiance to the party and thus strike at revisionists and carpers whom they don't like. The party conservatives profess their selfless love for the army and beat those who do not suit them—who have forgotten the lessons of history and are prepared to betray their Motherland. It's a good trick ruining your opponent by passing him for a renegade or an enemy of the nation.

The army cannot serve the party or ideology. It can serve only the people and the Motherland.

The Science of Winning in Peacetime

Colonel-General Rodionov was transferred from the Transcaucasus to Moscow to head the Academy of the General Staff.

Colonel-General Makashov was rumoured to have been assigned the military representative to Iraq, but there are enough hotheads in that country already. But no, he carries on commanding his military district, although he deserves the title of the Academy chief. He is the author of a book on how to win, another one of the kind after Suvorov's. True, his book is called "How to Win in Peacetime During Military Exercises."

The claims of the two colonel-generals are quite justified: Just two stars distinguish Rodionov and Makashov from Suvorov and Kutuzov—and that in peacetime, mind you!

I find it puzzling, though, how can one work his way up to the title of a colonel-general in peacetime. This is a military secret not only to me alone: how many colonel-generals have we got? And why so many? Incidentally, this is a real secret. Thanks to the Party and television, the murder was a bit out on the days of the CPSU Congress. When a TV camera panned on the endless rows of uniformed men, one could ask oneself many questions, Stellar eclipse was beginning....

We have just learned about the decision to cut the number of generals in the Soviet armed forces and on replacing them by officers of lower ranks. The Americans have taken an analogous decision. As usual, they give the precise figure: 78 generals and admirals. We, as usual, think and act in broad categories: a third of the generals is to be reduced. Now we are to wait for indignant voices: we are at the imperialists' beck and call again. After all, we shall reduce more generals than there were in the American army even before reduction. And what about parity?

It seems to be that this is, so far, the most serious step towards civil society and normal life.

'Restricted-Use' Military Journal Displayed

PM2009141990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel V. Ovsyannikov: "Fundamental, Military-Theoretical Journal"]

[Text] When the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA festival was held this summer in the capital's M. Gorkiy Park of Culture and Leisure, we, staffers of the journal VOYENNAYA MYSL, decided to display our own product too. It must be said that there was considerable interest in our journal. Particularly among... foreigners. Moreover, we in the editorial office and the Defense Ministry were recently approached by Mr. Ken D. Lee, president of the firm East View Publications (United States), who asked to acquire exclusive rights to the English translation of VOYENNAYA MYSL and the publication and dissemination of all of its past and future issues. He believes that this activity will help bring about greater mutual understanding between specialists on both sides dealing with questions of military building.

Well, their interest in us is natural. But, of course, it is bad that we are little known in our own fatherland. The fact is that before 1990 the journal was considered to be a restricted-use publication and was consequently not mentioned in the open press and not disseminated through Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter]. But anyone can subscribe to it.

The journal is a Defense Ministry organ. It publishes the views of major military leaders and of military scientists and researchers on topical problems of military science, the art of operations, and tactics. It carries articles debating fundamental aspects of military work, and the combat use of and comprehensive backup for Armed Forces formations.

Baltics

Estonia Responds to Two-Plus-Four Agreement

Minister Notes Concern

LD2009113290 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 0900 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Raul Malk in Tallinn; from the "Vikerkaja" program]

[Excerpts] For two hours the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet has been working. Two posts have been voted for: Indrek Meri will be in charge of the State Control [replaces Committee of People's Control which was abolished in the spring] and Arno Almann was endorsed, as previously, in the post Supreme Soviet presidium secretary. [passage omitted] So what is causing us concern? At the "Vikerkaja" microphone is Endel Lippmaa, minister [in charge of relations with the East]:

[Lippmaa] Yes, we do have a worry indeed. [passage omitted] However, what is in fact not known is that on the following day, the 13th, an agreement was endorsed—or initialled, in the diplomatic language—between the USSR and the FRG which excludes clauses from the two-plus-four treaty. Those are the ones that seriously worry us. It includes Article 2 which says: The FRG and USSR now and in the future view all European states' borders as irrefutable and fixed as they are on the day this treaty is signed. The day it will be signed is 3 October this year. Consequently, according to FRG and USSR assessments, European borders will thus finally be fixed. We cannot agree to this because no previous treaty contains a definition of this kind. It is absent in agreements concluded in Yalta as well as in Potsdam and Helsinki and is absent also in the two-plus-four treaty concluded by the superpowers.

It is also interesting that this 13 September agreement has been made in complete secrecy from both the USSR and us. It has not been published anywhere. For example, it is not in the IZVESTIYA which is distributed here while it is in the IZVESTIYA distributed in Moscow as a brief commentary. The issue of fixing the borders was also left out, as well as the issue of military cooperation. [passage omitted]

Protest Against Treaty Lodged

LD2109101490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 21 Sep (TASS)—"The USSR is not an assignee to the Estonian Republic which it occupied in 1940." This statement published today by the Estonian mass media was made at the Estonian Supreme Soviet session which has now ended in connection with the restoration of Germany and the Treaty on Good Neighbourliness, Partnership and Cooperation initialled by the FRG and USSR foreign ministers in Moscow on 13 September.

While satisfied with a final settlement of the German problem, the Estonian Supreme Soviet has lodged a protest in connection with the fact that Article 2 of the treaty initialed in Moscow contains clauses which consolidate "the USSR's annexation of the Baltic states".

In order to re-establish Estonia's independence through talks with the USSR an accord must be reached between all the states which signed the "two-plus-four" treaty, the statement says.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet has also appealed to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Member countries to try to ensure that Estonia is given the opportunity to participate in the Helsinki process, including the upcoming Paris summit and other decisive conferences for the destiny of Europe.

The issue of this statement is an additional one on the Supreme Soviet session's agenda this week. One of the focal points is the draft bill "On the Police"—what the law enforcement bodies will be called in the future. It is proposed to make this law effective on 1 March 1991 after the present Internal Affairs Ministry structures are eliminated. Even so, vehicles with the "police" sign are met on the streets today. Studies have begun at the police school and instruction to produce a new police uniform have been distributed.

Statement on Treaty Adopted

LD2009133590 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpts] In Toompea, the 16th Supreme Soviet session has ended. [passage omitted]

On its second reading the police law was adopted.

At the proposal of Indrek Toome, chairman of the foreign commission, a statement was included on the agenda concerning the Treaty on Good-Neighbourliness, Partnership, and cooperation between the FRG and the USSR, which was initialed in Moscow on 13 September 1990. The statement was adopted with 62 votes in favor.

And so the session ended.

Lithuania Declares It Will Not Sign Union Treaty

LD2009225590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Yesterday the Republic of Lithuania's Supreme Council adopted a declaration. Our correspondent Elena Kurkletite reports:

[Kurkletite] The declaration was signed by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. Yesterday it was broadcast by

Lithuanian Radio and Television. Today it was published in the republican newspapers. I would not take it upon myself to comment on the declaration. I will just try to get our listeners acquainted with its contents.

The statement of the Supreme Council Presidium says that the leadership of the Soviet Union has been informed that the Republic of Lithuania has no intention of signing any version of the Union Treaty of Republics. The declaration goes on, saying, I quote: It seems obivous that there is no need to exhaust the patience of people, to whip up tension, to harm not only one's own economy and also that of Lithuania by avoiding political negotiations on the liquidation of the consequences of World War II and on the recognition of the independence of Lithuania, unquote.

The declaration also states that officials of the Soviet Union refuse to guarantee the fulfillment of their own agreements on the sale of resources and goods to Lithuania, beginning in October 1990. The blockade of banks, the diplomatic blockade, the usurpation of the western borders of Lithuania, and armed interference into civil matters is continuing. Young men who refuse to serve in a foreign army are terrorized.

The declaration ends with an appeal to the people and democratic governments of the world not to remain passive toward the ever-increasing threat to the Baltic countries. [passage omitted]

Draft Action Platform of Latvian Party Published

LD2009194990 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga September 20 TASS—Today's republican newspapers published a draft action programme of the Latvian Communist Party.

The document entitled "Our Party's Aim is to protect the Interests of a Workingman" is to be adopted by the final meeting of the 25th party congress which is scheduled for the end of October.

The draft determines the work of the party which is in opposition and is designed for the period of preparations for new parliamentary elections.

It notes that the Latvian Communist Party, as a party of the socialist choice, builds relations with the communist parties of union republics and the Soviet Communist Party on the basis of common ideological positions and strategic aims.

The Latvian communists advocate the construction of a democratic society of "equal opportunities" which would develop on the basis of pluralism of property. They oppose the revival of a totalitarian state of a capitalist orientation in Latvia.

The republican communists favour a sovereign and internationaly recognised Latvia which would be in a contractual union with soveriegn Soviet republics.

The draft stresses that a decision on secession from the USSR may be adopted only by a republican-wide polling (referendum), taking into account the interests of all citizens Living in Latvia.

The Latvian Communist Party opposes a one-party monpoly and favours the establishment of a coalition republican government.

To overcome the crisis situation in society and to protect legal rights and interests of the Latvian people and all residents of the republic, the Latvian Communist Party is ready to begin a dialogue and constructive cooperation with any public association and movement, apart from those which profess fascist, nationalist, chauvinistic and anti-socialist ideas and forcible methods.

The communists denounce a campaign against Soviet Armed Forces in the republic.

The communists regard the improvement of ethnic relations in the republic the main condition and prerequisite for society's revitalisation and progress.

A sovereign Soviet state should be a guarantor for the equal and free development of the Latvian and all other ethnic communities in the republic. The revival of one nation is impossible through the abasement of other nations, the document says.

The communist party advocates the equal participation of all Latvian citizens in political life, irrespective of their nationality, as well as just representation of various nationalities in the legislative and executive arms of republican government.

Latvia Removes Monument To Prevent 'Outrage'

LD2009164190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] A TASS correspondent in Riga has sent this report:

It has become the thing for some organs of local self-government in Latvia to adopt decisions on dismantling monuments associated with the history of our state. The town authorities of Dobele are no exception. They decided to dismantle the monument to the Soviet soldiers-liberators—a T-34 tank.

On 19 September a few hundred people gathered at the monument. They demanded that the T-34 tank be dismantled as it was a symbol of the presence of the occupying troops. They even brought cameras in order to execute the decision of the local authorities. Soldiers of a military unit then took the monument under their protection to prevent an act of vandalism, the report says. The crowd did not disperse until late evening. Some deputies of the Latvian Supreme Soviet arrived on the

scene. Later, when speaking on republican radio, one of them called the actions of the servicemen a provocation against the deputies of the Supreme Soviet and local self-government.

Last night the forces of the military unit took the tank off its pedestal in the town of Dobele and transferred it to a military camp.

As the TASS correspondent was informed at the Political Directorate of the Red Banner Baltic Military Okrug, the decision to move the tank was made to prevent an outrage upon the memory of fallen Soviet soldiers.

Latvia Petitions Dangerous Military Devices

LD2009221190 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia adopted several important resolution today. [passage omitted]

A petition, signed by many inhabitants, has been received from the council of people's deputies of Kuldiga Rayon directed against the activity of military devices in this rayon. It states that at the demand by the USSR Armed Forces, and with the permission of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, new communications devices for military purposes are being built in Kuldiga Rayon which are planned to come into use within the next two years.

According to official data of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, the devices already in operation are exceeding the permissible norm for electromagnetic radiation which endangers the rayon's inhabitants. Taking into consideration that the devices being built at present are situated close to the town of Kuldiga and the urban settlement of Skrunda, the inhabitants of Kuldiga Rayon demand an ecological and biological examination by experts with the inclusion of the rayon's specialists, and request on examination of the question on a restriction or discontinuation of the activity of these devices or harmless use of them for civilian requirements.

The presidium charged the Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs and the Commission for Social Security and Health with the task of specially acquainting themselves with the conditions in Kuldiga and Skrunda territories where these dangerous military devices are situated, and also of preparing a reply to the Council of people's deputies of Kuldiga Rayon by 4 October. [passage omitted]

Oil Supply To Lithuanian Refinery Stops

LD2009221890 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Oil supply to the Mazeikiai oil refinery was stopped today. A report from the Novopolotsk oil distribution office in neighboring Belorussia states that the supply of raw material has been stopped for six hours. The reason: There is no oil. It is reported from the Mezeikiai refinery that if the supply of oil is not restored, it will have suffient raw material for refining only up to 0300 tonight. Most likely this is the result of an increasing crisis in the Soviet economy.

Official Explains Problem

LD2109104590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0925 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Excerpts] A representative of the Lithuanian Ministry of Power Industry made the following statement at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session:

"I would like to submit a brief information concerning the discontinuation of the supply of oil to the Mazeikiai oil refinery and the unexpected panic caused by this event in the republic. This panic was completely unfounded. I wish to report that on 20 September a message was received from the leadership of the Druzhba oil pipeline which stated that for technical reasons the supply of oil would be discontinued for two hours to the Mazeikiai oil refinery. Two hours later another message was received that oil supply would be restored only at 2200. I must say that the supply of oil is taking place along one pipeline, and as far as reliability is concerned this is the worst system. [passage omitted] I believe that this was a purely technical disturbance. [words indistinct]

"I can now report that the supply of oil was resumed today at 0010. [passage omitted] We do not see any tragedy here because theoretically such disturbances are possible. [passage omitted] Such disturbances have taken place in the past and they may happen again in the future. [passage omitted] I had unofficial information that the druzhba oil pipeline could not handle the required quantity of oil because of a strike at the Kolyma oilfields. This is unconfirmed information and we shall verify it. But we do not see here any more serious or political reason. [passage omitted]

Prunskiene Hopeful About Lithuanian Independence

AU2009114290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Sep 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Kazimiera Prunskiene, Lithuanian premier, by Branislav Janik; in Prague on 14 September: "Independence Is Only a Matter of Time"]

[Text] Prague—Kazimiera Prunskiene, Lithuanian premier, flew into Prague yesterday morning. During the morning she held talks with Premier Marian Calfa and in the evening she met with Czech Premier Petr Pithart and Jiri Dienstbier, foreign minister. She dined with President Vaclav Havel in the government villa.

During a short meeting with journalists we asked her the following questions:

[Janik] Madame Premier, in your opinion are the endeavors being made by some Slovak circles for independence concurrent with the Lithuanian Republic's endeavors?

[Prunskiene] I think that our situations are completely different.

[Janik] What is Lithuania's position today in defending its interests?

[Prunskiene] It is one of great uncertainty. We realize that the declaration of Lithuania's independence still does not mean it has been fully implemented. This is only the legal aspect; a realistic policy is another aspect. There will be negotiations with Moscow; both sides' delegations are already prepared. We are not losing hope that the negotiations will lead to a specific result. It is only a matter of time until we are really defending our own statehood.

[Janik] How do you evaluate your talks with the Czechoslovak premier?

[Prunskiene] We spoke about cooperation in the economy, culture, and tourism. We explained to the Czechoslovak side Lithuania's attitude toward the USSR and the Russian Federation as well as our ideas for resolving the problems associated with an independent Lithuania.

Lithuania's Prunskiene Interviewed on USSR Talks

90UN2816A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
15 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Kazimiera Prunskiene, head of the Lithuanian Republic Government, by Lithuanian Supreme Council Deputy Vidmante Jasukaityte; place and date not given; from the "Digest: The Lithuanian Press"—first three paragraphs are EKHO LITVY introduction]

[Text] Significant attention was given last week over radio and television, and in the newspapers and magazines of the republic, to further discussion of the main provisions of agrarian reform and principles of economic reform. People are debating, reflecting, differing in their views, and presenting their own solutions to pressing problems.

Attention was also concentrated on the Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Council and coming negotiations with the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], clearly a subject of friction in political circles. The material we publish today deals with this and other events.

On 11 August of this year a conversation was published between Kazimiera Prunskiene, head of the Lithuanian Republic Government, and Lithuanian Supreme Council Deputy Vidmante Jasukaityte, to which we invite the reader's attention. The material first appeared in the newspaper RESPUBLIKA under the title "Over Lithuania—Clear Skies."

[Jasukaityte] Esteemed prime minister, how do you perceive your mission as head of government during this vitally significant time for Lithuania?

[Prunskiene] My mission is not an easy one since the government must begin a great effort—take the economy from Moscow and reform it. Regarding Lithuanian affairs, we must have a great deal of contact with the world and at the same time discuss things in the parliament—which is perhaps the most difficult of all.

The most important thing I see right now is that Lithuania not give in again to extremes. I think that come what may we will win back independence from Moscow, give or take half a year. We do not want Lithuania to become authoritative, dictatorial. It must be democratic! The European states simply will not accept a different Lithuania in their composition.

[Jasukaityte] Do you sense that you have within yourself sufficient internal strength in such a difficult time to strive to achieve these high goals?

[Prunskiene] To this time I have felt an abundance of this strength. Sometimes it seems I cannot keep up with myself. I seem to have built up momentum and I do not want to—I cannot—lose this. It is precisely for this reason that it is difficult to communicate with those who perhaps have not built up such momentum. Often I fall right into the fire—the proposal for a moratorium, for example. This seemed inevitable to me because we could not only get bogged down for a long time and lose our tempo, but fail to take advantage of a favorable situation as well in preparing for negotiations. It was risky to make such a proposal but I did so without special consultations in the parliament since I felt there would be an unfavorable reaction from the deputies.

[Jasukaityte] What is your view of the parliament? What do you see as the ideal model of relations between the parliament and the government?

[Prunskiene] Some deputies elected to the parliament have come to believe they rule Lithuania. But they feel no direct, immediate responsibility to people. A law on the recall of deputies would force them to feel responsibility for their actions. I remember how the first governmental law was adopted. The prime minister and her deputies—we were all supposed to carry on discussions with the Lithuanian Supreme Council as partners. But the attempt to balance this law was seen as a trick on the part of the government. On several occasions I tried to get questions dealing with the jurisdiction of the government and the Supreme Council discussed at a plenary session so that spheres of activity would be clearly delineated, but this has not been accomplished to date. The government feels constant pressure, to put it mildly. The impression is created that there is a permanent competition ongoing between the Supreme Council and

the government, a struggle for power. In any parliamentary country, however, there should not be a merging of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Each of these jurisdictions must accomplish its own work. And speaking of the coming negotiations with Moscow, one can observe here quite a dubious policy regarding the East. Striving to carry on negotiations we must not criticize impetuously or show constant mistrust. Our attitude must be more calm and restrained.

[Jasukaityte] After the declaration of the moratorium, the enemies of independence began rejoicing openly to the effect that we are already within the composition of the USSR. Utter patriots are asserting the same thing. It must be exceedingly difficult for you during such times. But do you sense the moral support of the people of Lithuania?

[Prunskiene] Without such support it would truly be difficult. I can identify some extreme positions in society which also have ties with the parliament of course. They are platformists who are hitting from the left, finding the means to provoke and to blackmail, even fabricating accusations through the state security institutions. Right-wing elements—today's members of the League of Freedom of Lithuania—are suspiciously and abnormally seeking traitors in their midst. Incidentally the so-called patriots may be clearly separated into groups. There are people victimized by the Bolsheviks, former exiles, etc. One can understand them—they truly cannot carry on a peaceful conversation with Moscow. A second group is using patriotic feelings as a cover—they yearn for power and already see themselves as ministers. These are very specific people who are doing all in their power to compromise the government. But what did these people actually do for the benefit of independence prior to acceding to power? Among them are people whom I and Professor K. Antanavicius helped become deputies. At that time we did not even suspect what a dark deed we were doing for Lithuania. A third group consists of black forces inimical to Lithuania, interested in a blockade and economic chaos based on which they could make millions. I am getting a great many signals which confirm that there are such forces. They are unifying in order to attract naive patriots with just a naked patriotic feeling. Rallied together all these forces can create a rather powerful bloc, and you can avoid feeling their influence only if you know that the people support you. There are hopes that the situation in the parliament will achieve balance if more factions such as "Center" emerge. A group of liberals could possibly appear as well. Carrying on discussions with one another, groups would cleanse their positions of naked opposition and the unavoidable desire to be critical. The situation is greatly complicated by the fact that there is no strong base of support in society itself. "Sajudis" either has not yet found its position or has already lost it. Having lost the first Sajudists, the organization no longer fulfills consolidation functions.

[Jasukaityte] In other words, we are rushing toward the ideal of freedom... using Bolshevist methods?

[Prunskiene] Of course! And we will not be able to rid ourselves of such a legacy for a long time to come. It is frightening to think that, having formed a Supreme Council with the help of "Sajudis," we now do not find mutual understanding. It is uncomfortable that new people coming in, who have done nothing in "Sajudis," are already looking for evidence against us, expressing suspicion, accusing us of treason. Our comrades in arms, people from the first "Sajudis" who thought as we did, included effective specialists in their sphere with experience accumulated over many years, who fought bravely both here and in Moscow—these people are still more reliable than some of those pretentious people who have recently entered the political arena. I would not like to name anyone specifically, but the situation is dangerous enough since absolutization of one view, with sharp negation of the alternative, exploitation even of national feelings and ideals, becomes a threat to democracy. When a group of parliamentarians fights not for the optimal solution but against specific people, almost without delving into the essence of their proposals, the effort becomes complicated. I believe that for a long time we will be cleansing ourselves from the experience of branding with labels, displaying suspicion, the thirst to engage in espionage, and making accusations.

[Jasukaityte] The Supreme Council made a decision on direct negotiations with the USSR in spite of the fact that you attempted to prove that negotiations must be conducted on the governmental level and the Supreme Council should only ratify or not ratify documents signed by the government. When do you believe negotiations should begin?

[Prunskiene] Clearly negotiations are nearing and the USSR, which has in fact established a commission under the leadership of Council of Ministers Chairman N. Ryzhkov, is attempting in its own way to use this to shape our program as well. We will have to reach agreement on very practical matters; nonetheless, the negotiations are yet to begin. In order for us to be able to conduct negotiations we must first prepare a very thick packet of documents. This packet is lying on my desk, by the way. On becoming deputy prime minister I began to prepare documents concerning economic negotiations, and property and financial settlements. A great many variants have been prepared, beginning with policy matters and ending with things that are very specific. A governmental commission which I head was established for this effort. But now in discussing the establishment of a commission on preparing for the negotiations—first of all at a common session of the Presidium of the Supreme Council and government—the Supreme Council has created a small commission on preparation for the negotiations. I myself had to prove that my participation would be required. For it is necessary that the person who began the effort, who prepared the drafts, continue the work in a consistent manner.

[Jasukaityte] I feel it will be a long and stubborn process to reach agreement since the object of negotiations and the aim of Moscow show that we will have to display skill

in presenting reasoned argument. We will have to exhibit virtuosity, professionalism, and rapid reaction. Yesterday I found out from a television broadcast that the esteemed V. Landsbergis, departing for Switzerland, left a letter in which he proposed C. Stankevicius, A. Abishalu, E. Zingeris, and himself for the commission on negotiations.

[Prunskiene] Yes! And as minister of foreign affairs, A. Saudargas also must participate, of course. And so it remains for me to propose an additional two nominations. It was envisaged that we would form this delegation together—V. Landsbergis and I. We can hardly do this over a distance....

[Jasukaityte] And who do you nominate?

[Prunskiene] Ozolas and Professor P. Kuris.

[Jasukaityte] ?!

[Prunskiene] Yes, yes... I see no sense in actively participating in heated discussions—if there will be such—on the composition of a delegation which I do not see any sense in creating.

[Jasukaityte] Regardless of the parochialism of statesmen, however, and their open striving for absolute power, it seems to me they will not have such an easy time dealing with you.

[Prunskiene] I think that... after Lithuania's position was expounded in Canada, the United States, Britain, and the FRG, when the leaders of major states confronted the problems of Lithuania and came to understand our state and political maturity, their assessment of Lithuania and assistance to it changed. It was not easy for M. Gorbachev to prove that the Lithuanian question should be erased from discussion. His opinion regarding Lithuania did not coincide with the view of many.

[Jasukaityte] Knowing your activity, it is difficult to believe that someone could underestimate it. Tell me, do you sense the evident efforts to overthrow you?

[Prunskiene] Only an entirely insensitive person could fail to sense this.

[Jasukaityte] Is there specific intimidation, blackmail, threats?

[Prunskiene] There are not just allusions but very concrete demands most often expressed through second and third parties. Additionally, the blackmail is sometimes quite aggressive. The current week has been unequalled in this regard, by the way.

[Jasukaityte] Who is doing all this?

[Prunskiene] Well, let us let this be.... In order for me to be able to talk about this, a little time must pass. The situation can still probably be corrected—I am talking about what is happening on the broad scale in Lithuania, not only around me.

[Jasukaityte] So we will have to have another conversation. Well, for this one—thank you!

Lithuanian Leaders To Meet Gorbachev

LD2009224290 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Today Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene met members of the presidential council Aleksandr Yakovlev and Yevgeniy Primakov. At the meeting they discussed the political situation in the Soviet Union and possible further steps in the relations with Lithuania. Deputy Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas and Lithuania's representative in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, took part in the meeting, too. It has been agreed that Kazimiera Prunskiene, Romualdas Ozolas, and Egidius Bickauskas will meet with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Lithuania Urges 'National Harmony' Declaration

90UN2821A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 1

[Appeal of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat: "Communists of Lithuania Urge Signing Declaration on National Harmony"]

[Text] **The appeal of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat to members of the Lithuanian Communist Party and its supporters and to all people of Lithuania, published on 30 August of this year in the newspaper TIESA, states:**

"A propaganda campaign directed against the Lithuanian Communist Party and other political forces and figures that have come out in defense of realistic positions and democracy was accelerated recently. Once again an atmosphere of suspicion is being stirred up, there is speculation about past mistakes and transgressions of the party, and doubts are being expressed about the aims of its current program. Attempts are being made from the outside to impose on the party ideas of a dissolution or split. Attempts are being made to prove that the Lithuanian Communist Party does not fit in the framework of the future political system of the Lithuanian Republic and that its existence obstructs the strengthening of independence and the fostering of democracy. Some members of our party, who have doubts about the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party, are also submitting to this pressure.

"The Lithuanian Communist Party and its leaders have already repeatedly subjected the party's past to critical evaluation, and they have condemned those who, in its name, inflicted damage on Lithuania and on the Lithuanian people. The process of the self-cleansing of the party is continuing. As early as the 20th congress those who did not support the idea of independence for Lithuania and the ideals of democracy and humanism separated from us. After the elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet we were also abandoned by those who, being in the ruling party, strived to satisfy personal interests. The

Lithuanian Communist Party has been renewed substantially. Therefore, today's appeals to repent and to punish all members of the party express a desire to impede any kind of activity by the Lithuanian Communist Party.

"Seeing and understanding all of this, we declare:

"1. Conditions for the defense of the democratic process are just being established in the Lithuanian Republic. There are forces attempting to destabilize our political system and to clear the way for an authoritarian regime. These forces, exploiting the sacred ideals of the unity of the nation and the independence of Lithuania, are basing their activity on propaganda attacks against the Lithuanian Communist Party and are attempting to eliminate it from the political arena of Lithuania.

"2. In such a political situation the Lithuanian Communist Party and other leftist forces are a guarantor of the stability of a democratic society. The duty of our party is to promote the unity of the democratic forces of Lithuania. Being true to the ideas of independence and democracy proclaimed by the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, we treat other beliefs and opinions with tolerance and patience, and we are trying to establish a common cause in behalf of Lithuanian independence. Not submitting to provocations of political opponents, we are performing and will continue to perform our mission with honor and dignity.

"3. The Lithuanian Communist Party understands democracy as a process based on principles of freedom, justice, and harmony. Democracy is a form of social governing that embodies the real authority of the citizens and guarantees the rights and freedom of each member of society and the organized minority. Democracy is harmony in the family, unity of the nation, and the flourishing of state and international solidarity.

"4. At the forthcoming congress, the Lithuanian Communist Party has every opportunity to become a contemporary political organization of a new quality that unites people of various convictions, including those who are not members of this party; an organization that is not fettered by any statute limits on the cohesion of democratic forces; and an organization that defends the interests of all workers of Lithuania. Our path leads to a democratic union of leftist forces.

"5. We value and encourage the harmony and cooperation of all people of Lithuania. Therefore, we propose that all republic political forces get ready for and sign the Declaration on National Harmony which would direct all of the creative forces of the nation toward a resolution of the most important economic, social, and spiritual problems.

"This does not mean that we are trying to suppress constructive criticism directed against us. This does not mean that we ourselves will not criticize and speak out against whatever kind of manifestations there may be of neo-Bolshevism and totalitarianism. The idea of national harmony, as we understand it, means that all Lithuanian political forces with different political positions will reject actions that are tactless and go beyond the limits of the law, and mutual propaganda accusations and incitement for the sake of national unity. Universal human values and individual rights and freedom are the foundation of the idea of national harmony.

"There is not a more constructive goal today than the affirmation of democracy in an independent Lithuania. Without a national harmony that permeates all elements of society and that reaches everyone of its members, we will not attain the objectives that are sacred to all of us."

More on Protection of Lenin Monument in Vilnius

PM2109100390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Captain Second Rank V. Gromak under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Armored Personnel Carriers by Monument"]

[Text] Vilnius, 19 Sep—The streets of the Lithuanian capital are busy as always. And yet your gaze does settle upon something unusual. Two soldiers of the Internal Troops, armed with submachine guns, are standing in the public garden alongside the Lenin monument and an armored personnel carrier is stationed a little farther on. Senior Lieutenant V. Klyuchnikov explained: The post has been set up here in case anyone tries to dismantle the monument.

Today's issue of the RESPUBLIKA newspaper publishes on its frontpage a photograph of the armored personnel carrier by the Lenin monument. "Here is a curious thing," the newspaper writes, "a monument under guard."

It is not curious at all. The Lithiuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee and the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Citizens Committee issued a statement some weeks ago. It said among other things: "Events in Lithuania show that the present leadership of the republic, aware of the bankruptcy of its policy, is trying by various provocative statements to divert the public's attention away from the extremely dire socioeconomic and political problems and the flouting of democratic fredoms and human rights. In the spring of this year Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, stated without any grounds that the seizure of the Supreme Soviet building was being planned. As a result, sociopolitical tension has mounted in the republic.... Such statements are particularly dangerous in nature because, as a result of the campaign of denigration launched in Lithuania against the defenders of a renewed USSR and of the acts of dismantling monuments to Lenin and to members of the revolutionary movement being carried out with the government's knowledge, confrontation among whole groups of the republic's population, which threatens to turn into civil conflict, has sharply intensified. The beating up by an unruly mob of Professor K. Surblis, doctor of historical sciences and director of the Lithuanian Communist

Party (CPSU) Central Committee Sociopolitical Research Institute, is evidence of this."

RSFSR

RSFSR Supreme Soviet 20 Sep Proceedings Reported

Government Resignation Bill Passed

LD2009130190 Moscow Domestic Servicein Russian 0900 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] The following questions are on the agenda today: the adoption of the resolution on the USSR Government's resignation—it has already been adopted with one vote against. It is decided to propose that the country's Supreme Soviet should solve the issue of the entire government's resignation and take urgent measures to form a government that enjoys the confidence of the people.

Next on the agenda is an RSFSR bill on local soviets and local self-government. The deputies started the first reading of the law and listened to a report by Travkin, chairman of the committee, and started a discussion which quickly revealed that some deputies do not accept this draft law. Besides, as it turns out there is an alternative document but it will not be discussed.

We all remember the heated discussions that took place at the USSR Supreme Soviet when the fundamentals of the Union and Union republics law on local soviets and local self-government were being adopted. The Union committee was proud of this law then. It believed that it probably would be able to move away from the totalitarian system of power to democratic forms of government. But the attempt failed and the system of power started to crumble. Conflicts started, not only vertically between the lower and higher soviets but horizontally between a soviet, its presidium, and its executive committee. To hope for the time to settle it all—we do not have such a hope.

Nikolay Ilyich Travkin recognized it all in a self-critical way. He sees the way out through the renunciation of the slogan: All power to the soviets. There should be a definite division of power into legislative, executive, and judicial power. Well this law aims to rectify the relations between the local soviets and the executive bodies, to form structures that can guarantee power and the execution of the republic's laws on its entire territory in practice. A sensible centralization of power is envisaged and at the same time extensive opportunities are being offered to the territorial committees of public self-government. Besides, in keeping with the law the system of local soviets is the machinery with which to implement the economic reforms.

I stress that this is a law for the transitional period only, and only from it should we proceed to other laws on taxation, property, and enterprises which will be operating in market conditions. The law provides for three levels of power—this is some sort of vertical strengthening of power which is necessary in the opinion of those drawing up the draft. Maximum rights, plenary powers, and budget are at the base level—that is a town and a rural rayon. This level shares its power with the top (oblast and kray soviets) and the bottom (the primary level) village soviets in a rural area and rayon soviets in a town. Incidentally, this is the weakest spot in the draft law and the question has already been raised that this document should not be adopted in the first reading.

The law also deals with the formation of executive power through elections, but this should be professional executive power that will be working on budgets, drawing up local norms and taxation, and in charge of land and communal property. Even though we have 29,000 local soviets, people sometimes do not know where to solve the simplest problems in life. But this way of forming the executive power is for the future. It will be much smaller than already existing legislative power. Now the main thing for local soviets, this was stressed in Travkin's report, is to do everything possible to stabilize the economic situation and transfer to the market.

The discussion continues. The direction of this discussion is a rather critical one.

Supreme Soviet Agenda Outlined

LD2009212190

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1816 GMT on 20 September broadcasts an 85-minute report including video recordings, on the 20 September proceedings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The report opens with an announcer saying that on today's agenda is a decision on local soviets and self-government; and the deferred decision of no confidence in the government. Yeltsin is in the chair, he notes.

At 1817 GMT an unidentified deputy states: "Yesterday an appeal by 50 deputies was read, sharply condemning the October revolution. Possibly they are right, but for millions of our fellow citizens this is not evident. And politics begins where formal logic recedes before social psychology. Therefore, I propose setting up a temporary authoritative commission with the objective of making an historical-political analysis of the October revolution, and that it publish its conclusions before 7 November. Another aspect of the work of this commission can be to work out a stance with regard to the numerous Lenin symbols."

Yeltsin replies: "I do not know about the people's deputies. For instance, I do not have a straightforward attitude to this proposal. We have always made mistakes when we have adopted normative decisions for the

whole country, for the whole of Russia. After all, the political situation in the regions and republics is varied. And why should we dictate from here the removal of some monument, the nonremoval of another, and the number to be removed. Let us remove 286 and leave 135. You see, this is not a stance. And it seems to me that this should simply be decided at ground level. Of course, there is a mass-produced monument which does not represent a work of art, so to speak. One can agree with this, but once again let it be decided on at ground level. But it seems hardly expedient for us to simply adopt a decision to dismantle a monument at one fell swoop or some other decision, the more so in such a very tense atmosphere in our country. I do not think that we, Russia, need to stand aloof with regard to the evaluation of these events, and maybe anyway allow such a commission to be formed at Union level, or insist on it, and that all republics participate in it, and they would then give this assessment together. But it is not for us, as it were for Russia, to be the initiators of the reassessment of the events of 1917. And this is not a parliamentary matter, but rather a political matter. A political matter. And it must also be resolved by some political means. If the people's deputies do not insist, I will not put this matter to the vote."

At 1821 GMT deputy Masovets, after commenting on and opposing privileges for deputies, states: "I for instance, together with my comrades, hand in my pass with pleasure. You see? And I want some corresponding measures to be taken in all these measures being expressed."

After applause from deputies, Yeltsin states: "I as always am a consistent supporter of the fight against priveleges, and would only welcome this. The more so since personally I not only do not use passes, but no special rations whatsoever, only the Moscow city trade network. I have not yet received any special rations. Not here, nor at the Union Supreme Soviet. Therefore I think that, on a common basis, if our deputies—members of the Supreme Soviet included—go over, then this will be a good example also for Union deputies."

After applause Yeltsin says: "I understand that there is full approval. Let us give up our passes. Yes, everyone must do it. The apparat as well, everyone. The more so the apparat."

A deputy says that a Volgograd delegation has arrived today with a petition from soldiers' mothers. She says that 1 October is the beginning of the call-up and there could be difficulties. Yeltsin says that information from the deputy will be circulated.

At 1826 GMT the Supreme Soviet passes a vote of no confidence in the Union government: 164 for, 1 against, and 16 abstentions.

At 1827 GMT deputy Travkin talks about the draft law on local soviets. Many issues such as housing can be dealt with locally. Russia has a large number of wasteful bodies of elective authority. Three levels are envisaged in the law: primary, basic, and oblast/kray level. The people who are against the bill do not understand the local soviet and executive committee system. He asks deputies to adopt the bill at its first reading.

At 1841 GMT questions are put to Travkin on the bill concerning food deliveries; military camps; dismissal by Travkin of Moscow group's proposals; procedure for presenting amendments to the bill; the application of the new law to territorial-administrative divisions; problems over separation of functions; tax imbalances affecting rayon soviets; complaints about lack of an alternative bill; links with other bills; and other questions.

At 1912 GMT the announcer points out that the afternoon session was chaired by Khasbulatov.

The chairman of the committee on legislation then reads a statement on the law on local soviets and self-governments. He says that local bodies of powers must be in charge locally. The committee believes that the basic principles of the bill can be approved, but some details are causing problems. The law in its present form will not be a stabilizing law but one causing "civil war between the soviets," he says. Serious amendments have to be made. He says that the Legislation Committee has come to the conclusion that since the law needs serious reworking it should not be adopted, but returned for modifications to the committees and commissions.

At 1921 GMT Deputy Kogan says that the main issue in the draft law is the issue of a basic level. This question will cause great confusion. Definition based on population figures will be very complex. "Basic" is similar to primary but includes any unit, including a settlement. There should be such principle that all basic units have their own rights of ownership, even if they delegate them to higher organs.

At 1934 GMT Deputy Terkin says that there is no clarity at local level as to borders between the territories of various authorities. Local people should decide where these borders are. There is in fact no power at grass roots level. Who will implement the 500 days plan? He proposes there should be no wasting time on further discussion and voting, and that the draft be returned for modifications in the committees and commissions.

At 1939 GMT, in response to allegations of wasting time, Khasbulatov says that certain deputies seem not to have even read the draft and he demands more respect for it.

At 1940 GMT the announcer says that after tea, the deputies met in separate chambers.

Yeltsin Involved in Car Accident, Feels 'Normal'

LD2109082190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0802 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Sep (TASS)— This morning the car in which Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian

Supreme Soviet, was traveling to work was involved in a car accident. As was reported in the press-group of the Russian Supreme Soviet, a Zhiguli car crashed into the republican parliament head's car. It struck the door which Boris Yeltsin was sitting next to. According to a report from the press-group of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Boris Yeltsin feels normal. There is no danger to his life.

Yeltsin Sends Letter to Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan

LD2009163690 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 20 sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—"Russia is ready to discuss sympathetically the acute problems of Armenia," says a letter sent by President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin to President of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

The letter expressed heartfelt gratitude for a kind opinion about traditions of Russian-Armenian relations and high appreciation of the participation of Russian builders in the restoration of the distress area. The head of the Russian parliament wrote, that durable relations between the two republics, based on reciprocity, should further develop, promoting in this way the overcoming of consequences of the tragedy that hit Armenia in 1988.

The letter stressed the need for establishing direct relations between republics on a horizontal level.

RSFSR Ministry Issues Foreign Trade Directive

90UF0539A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 37, 15-21 Sep 90 p 7

["Directive of the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations"]

[Text] In accordance with decisions of the First RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies, and with the aim of depoliticizing the organs of republic government:

1. All forms of sociopolitical activity—organization of party committees, collection of dues, party meetings, etc.—within the framework of the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (MVES) and organizations under its jurisdiction, both in the RSFSR and abroad, are prohibited.

2. It is not recommended that employees of the RSFSR MVES and organizations under its jurisdiction enter into business contacts on matters of determination of customs duty, the issuing of export-import licenses and quotas, or the establishment of tax privileges, etc., with representatives of those organizations and departments that violate decisions of the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies on abrogation of the monopoly of any party to political activity.

3. It is permitted to accept persons for employment who are members of any political party whose activity is not prohibited by the RSFSR Constitution.

4. Members of such parties are permitted to participate in the work of congresses, forums, conferences, etc., by taking leave without pay.

All employees of the RSFSR MVES and organizations under its jurisdiction will be informed of the content of this directive.

[Signed] V. Yaroshenko, minister of foreign economic relations

Nation's Problems Examined at Kuybyshev Conference

PM2009151590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report on interviews with V. Gryzlov, Ya. Sharapov, and A. Kuzmin, participants in an all-Union conference on the Russian nation, by correspondent A. Solarev in Kuybyshev; no date given; under the "Post-Conference Interview" rubric: "Place in the Union of the Peoples"]

[Text] Kuybyshev—How to revive Russia? How to revive the Russian nation? How to achieve civic peace in interethnic relations? This and much else was the subject of discussion at an all-Union scientific and practical conference entitled "The Russian Nation in the Union of the Peoples of the USSR," organized by the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee] and Political Enlightenment House. Social scientists studying problems of interethnic relations gathered here from dozens of cities in the country, including from other republics. At the end of the conference's work your correspondent asked some of its participants to assess its results. This is what they said.

V. Gryzlov, CPSU Central Committee Interethnic Relations Department consultant:

"In my view, the conference was successful. This was determined first and foremost by the speakers. It was very good that a collection of theses by many scientists working on this problem was published for the conference. The theses may sometimes still be incomplete, but that is not surprising: Virtually no one had studied the problems of the Russian nation and its place in history until recently. I consider that despite certain excesses in speeches, high emotions, and sometimes tub-thumping—but what can you do, it is a sickness of our time—we did have constructive discussion on the whole."

Ya. Sharapov, professor at the Kazan Aviation Institute:

"To be honest, I cannot recall a conference on such a topic in all my many years in science. And the very fact of holding it is already an event of enormous importance in modern social science. We learned who is studying what, and how, and what has been achieved in the sphere. This in turn will give a kind of fillip to the

development of new research on the topic. It is a very good thing that the conference was attended by many young scientists who are sometimes truculent and obstinate. Although they as yet lack deep knowledge, they do on the other hand possess an enormous keenness and research talent. The conference organizers proposed a meeting between us and representatives of the oblast's national cultural centers. The enthusiasts of these public associations have sometimes achieved more than the scientific theoreticians...."

Professor A. Kuzmin, current affairs writer and chairman of "Otechestvo," the Moscow voluntary society of Russian culture:

"Our troubles are well known. The point of civil war has alrready been reached in a number of regions. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have appeared. The great Russian people have an enormous role to play in stabilizing the situation. Unfortunately the conference did not analyze the causes of all our troubles and, without such analysis, it is impossible to offer a solution. Many speakers concerned themselves with details and expressed the standpoint of a people, a city, and sometimes even a city district, forgetting the main thing. But I see the value of the conference above all in the fact that certain urgent questions which need to be worked on were asked anew. What are the causes of the crisis in interethnic relations? How are they to be removed? They have only been asked for now, there is no answer as yet. But now they have been asked, it does mean that scientific inquiry will make progress."

Polozkov Attends RSFSR Trade Union Congress

PM2009154190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent: "Russia's Trade Unions: Renewal and Independence"]

[Text] Only independent trade unions can champion the working person's interests and ensure their real defense. This thought became the leitmotiv of the work at the concluding stage—the second session—of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Federation of Independent Trade Unions which opened in Moscow 18 September.

Delivering the report at the session on the progress in forming the RSFSR Federation of Independent Trade Unions and on its action program, its Chairman I.Ye. Klochkov recalled that the organization's sovereignty consists above all in independence from any attempts by state, party political, or local administrative forces to impose their will on trade unions to the detriment of their true aims.

The delegates raised a wide range of questions in their speeches. This is perfectly understandable: The Russian trade unions taking the path of renewal are becoming an active force. The congress is being attended by representatives of approximately 40 political parties and public movements operating in the republic. The congress participants declared that Russian trade unions will build their relations with all these organizations and with the CPSU on the basis of equal rights and partnership. This idea of consolidation was supported by I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, who addressed the congress.

Your federation and our party, I.K. Polozkov pointed out, have emerged almost simultaneously. And this is no coincidence. It is a natural response to an objective demand by life, to the need to restore the working people's decisive positions, to assert them in society, and to open up broad scope for their creative energy.

Two closely linked slogans are inscribed on the Communist Party's banner: the defense of working people's interests and the rebirth of Russia. Our Constituent Congress firmly declared that the party's political course and ideological and civic positions are the positions of the 28th CPSU Congress, and that it supported the measures being taken by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to revive sovereign Russia and to improve all spheres of its social life. And this means that we support the course of humane, democratic socialism which includes the transition to a regulated market economy, democratic reform, and the spiritual renewal of society. Our congress proclaimed that the party is open to cooperation with all sociopolitical movements which hold dear the interests of Russia and the good of its peoples.

We believe that intellectual pluralism and the multiparty system are one of the most important positive results of perestroyka. We see the variety of opinions that has come to light as a sound guarantee that the process of profound changes will continue and intensify, as a guarantee of healthy alternative approaches to social problems. We welcome everything truly progressive and advanced, from whomever it proceeds. We are convinced that in all the diversity of opinions it is always possible to find ways to agree.

We have not concealed and do not conceal our purpose—to be a party of vigorous action and to struggle for state power using democratic methods. Some people try to assure us that, under conditions of pluralism, Communists must abandon this task. But is there even one political party in the world, even one political force that would not set itself this task? Let us say frankly: Those who urge us not to struggle for political power would, in fact, like us to hand it over to other forces.

The transition to a market economy is the fundamental problem for us all. Today there are frequent press articles and television interviews which claim that the RSFSR Communist Party is against the market, in favor of the old methods of managing the economy, and so on. I wish to state very definitely that our party is a consistent and firm supporter of the transition to new economic relations.

But this is precisely why we want—and I think you will share this approach—all production ties and all the social consequences of the market's introduction to be carefully thought out. I am not talking of the mechanisms that are known in many countries—they are no secret—but of what will happen if we rush thoughtlessly into the market. Given our technological backwardness we will find ourselves on unequal terms, competing with a market of technologically-geared labor, and we will spend decades trying to achieve much of what had already been accomplished by our social system.

We must take an objective and unbiased view of all the options for resolving this vitally important problem. And the first question that arises here is this: Why, when speaking of programs for the transition to the market and saying that we will all live well under the market, is it not revealed who these "we" are? What is the structure of Soviet society? Even if it is not a class-based structure—many people now make a sour face at the word "class"—is it at least a property-based and professional structure? Are there many millions of people at the top of this structure today, and how many of them will be able to own property? And how many will work as before, how many will be following instructions and living from payday to payday? What, in general, does the market bring for the working person? For these are key questions, but as yet there are no answers to them.

Such profound and dramatic turns in the country's destiny as transition to the market are undoubtedly possible only with careful study of the various options and with broad public agreement.

We are convinced that Russia needs a program which will be a program of its rebirth. And if it is submitted for all-around discussion, people will accept it, particularly as they have just one reply to any measures today: Things will not be worse than they are now. For otherwise it could happen that, in striving for the market as a medicine for all ills we will overlook the fact that, instead of it, the people will actually be presented with another medicine—replacement of the social system. And a replacement such that in subsequent elections the voice of the voters—workers, engineering and technical personnel, and peasants—will only be heard to the extent that the bosses of the hastily knocked-up market need it.

While warmly welcoming the renascent workers movement, I.K. Polozkov went on, we cannot fail to see that an atmosphere of social confrontation has already penetrated it in some places. Everything must be done to reverse the trend toward confrontation and discord and to seek and find the path to unity and concord. We must realize that, if the working class is made to clash with state power, if it is turned against Communists, and if the working people's interests are pitted against the country's interests, this will lead to a catastrophe... to a national tragedy.

Some people importunately try to convince us that the working class is disappearing, losing its social viability, and disintegrating. That it is not the working class but some "middle class" that conveys the ideas of democracy and rebirth today. So either the party must change fundamentally and find for itself a different social mainstay and ideology and other political aims, or it will simply turn into an unnecessary harmful force. The RSFSR Communist Party remains true to its chief task of being the party of the working class, of all working people, and it is sure that these forces will also play a decisive role in the renewed society.

It is today that the working person needs more than ever before organizations which reliably protect his interests and rights and an ideology which explains the surrounding world to him and indicates the paths along which he will attain a worthy, well-to-do life.

We are well aware that many vital problems of the working people have been neglected, are painful, and need to be resolved efficiently and without delay. And the Communist Party and our state bear a considerable share of the blame for this. They have done far from everything for the working person. And they themselves must rectify their mistakes and not faintheartedly defer to those who, engaging in political demagoguery and passing themselves off as true friends of the working class, cherish just one dream—to accede to power and change the existing social order.

Let us ask ourselves honestly: What will happen if the edifice of Russian statehood built with blood and sweat is demolished, plunging the country into anarchy? What will happen if an opportunity is given to destroy the Communist Party which, for all its shortcomings, today remains a serious force uniting and holding fast the cells of the social organism? And, in general, it unites by no means the managers and the bureaucrats but above all the working people themselves. What will happen if ambitious people, people who despise this country, force their way into power? If all this is permitted, will things be better for the working person? Hardly.

It is here, I.K. Polozkov said, that a considerable part of the field for joint activity between the Federation of Independent Trade Unions and the Communist Party of the RSFSR lies. We have common aims and common interests. And this means that we will always be able to reach agreement and combine efforts. With the correct comradely work this will mean a doubling, an increase in joint efforts in the working people's interests.

The delegates devoted considerable attention to the future development of the trade union movement in the country.

B.M. Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, is participating in the work of the congress.

The congress is continuing its work.

RSFSR Interior Minister Holds News Conference

LD2009172590 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Burglary is committed in Russia every two minutes, robbery—every eight minutes and people are injured every twelve minutes. Society is dominated by legal nihilism and often open defiance of law, the recently appointed Russian interior miniser, Viktor Barannikov, 50, told a news conference here today.

Barannikov said the general public's passivity, the failure of the campaigns to combat alcoholism and unearned incomes, the absence of flexible structures in law-enforcement bodies and their outdated methods and forms of work were to blame for the low efficiency in combatting crime.

At present, Barannikov noted, the professional nucleus of the militia force is being washed out, as people seek to change employment. All this calls for a radical restructuring of the interior security force and its activity.

The task set before the Russian Federation Interior Ministry is to ensure the protection of Russian citizens' constitutional rights, property and personality.

The minister recalled that in accordance with the decision of the congress of Russian people's deputies, the republican Interior Ministry is now subordinate to the Russia's Council of Ministers.

Hence the need to transfer central powers to the republican headquarters and reconsider its structure. As regards its relations with the USSR Interior Ministry, they will be built on a contract basis, envisaging a separation of powers and a delimitation of authority. Mutual commitments of the sides will increase.

Administration of local agencies will be decentralized and municipal police will be established to maintain law and order in respective areas.

Barannikov told the news conference about the forthcoming depoliticisation of the republic's interior security forces. No party will be entitled to act as their leading and guiding force. Political directorates will be abolished.

The creation of an independent trade union organisation is now being considered, according to the minister. The majority of the republican interior security personnel favour the move.

Barannikov also favoured the adoption of a republican programme to combat crime for the next year or two. In addition, he said, there is a need to promulgate a law to regulate the police operational activity.

He said that work is now under way to prepare 18 regulatory enactments and 12 government ordinances concerning the powers to be vested in the militia.

A bill on the Russian militia, to be published soon, has already been considered by a parliamentary committee and is now being finalised for publication.

KGB Discovers Tsentrosoyuz Liquor Stockpile

PM2009135590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Report by V. Bakarinov, A. Kostromin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The next report is devoted to our notorious shortages. What is causing them? Our correspondent reports on one of the reasons.

[Correspondent] As a result of drawn-out debates and discussions, we have finally reached the conclusion that combatting alcoholism by means of rigorous bans simply does not work. The conclusion has been reached, but the waiting lines remain. It is known that there are no legal restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages. So is industry letting us down? Perhaps. But let us take a look at the problem from another angle.

Brace yourselves! This is not easy to take in. Six hundred cases of Stolichnaya vodka, 950 cases of the strong liqueur Tarkhun, 580 cases of ordinary, that is cheap, cognac—to put it in simple terms, a total of 34,772 bottles were discovered by staff of the Moscow City and Oblast KGB Administration and the militia as a result of a check at the Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Societies] Glavkooptorg trade and procurement depot. Add to this 1,300 packets of spaghetti. Can you still remember this type of pasta?

You may say that a depot's purpose is to store goods. But the scarce goods, teetotalers will forgive me, have been stored here not for a day or two but since 31 June, for instance. No violation is involved since there are no regulations as to how long goods should be kept at depots.

The management of store room No. 4, which is located on the depot's second story, tried to explain the presence of the stockpiles of goods, regarded as scarce at present, by the fact that the elevator is not working. It is difficult, however, to work out what it easier in this case—to accept goods and carry them upstairs (which is being done), or to deliver them to consumers by carrying them down the same flight of stairs (which alas no one is prepared to do).

Since the law enforcement organs did not discover any elements of crime in the administration's actions, we will confine ourselves to regarding it as a puzzle, although you may think what you like. The problem is that the waiting lines are not getting any shorter.

Unloading Delays Worsen Leningrad Food Shortages

PM2109101990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by V. Batalov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Lack of responsibility—here is a report from Leningrad.

[Batalov] We bid farewell to the old prices to the strains of an old marching song, but the new ones are simply stunning. They have spread like wildfire not only to cooperatives but also to state trading outlets, taking our last penny with their so-called contract prices.

Yes, seeing that prices have risen... and the trade plan has remained the same, does this mean that the plan can be fulfilled with less effort?

[Unidentified woman] Of course it can.

[Z.I. Vorobeychik, chief of a city fruit trade department] That is one of the reasons in principle why they can now sell one kg instead of two kg, figuratively speaking, and earn the same profit, the same money.

[Batalov] Goods that have not reached the shops are a dead weight at the station. That is why the whole of Leningrad is an endless waiting line for goods in short supply. Sometimes artificial shortages.

[B.N. Trankov, deputy chief of the October Railroad freight service, facing camera] There are now 174 freightcars carrying meat standing idle in our city—60 freightcars are unloaded every day. So 134 freightcars are standing idle with fruit and vegetables for vegetable trading outlets. Freightcars are continuing to pile up. Most enterprises—like the agro-industrial complex and the Rosmyasomoltorg under the Ministry of Trade—are not working a night shift. Our ispolkom [soviet executive committee], the Leningrad Ispolkom, has not as yet been formed. But according to senior officials at local level, the ispolkoms that are operational—in Murmansk, for instance, where 340 freightcars of vegetables are standing idle—are refusing to help the railroad workers to organize the unloading of freightcars in a timely fashion.

[Batalov] Increased penalties for above-normative freightcar delays have not helped either because it is not the negligent leaders who pay these fines. People should be called to account for the disruptions on the basis of the losses incurred.

Leningrad Greens Promise 'Trouble' for Polluters

PM2009115390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent Ye. Solomenko: "'List' of Polluters"]

[Text] Leningrad—The Leningrad supporters of the "Green" Party have begun to compile lists of enterprises that violate nature protection legislation.

The West has already drawn up "international blacklists" of enterprises engaged in anti-environmental activity. "Green" movement activists in West Europe recently sent their Leningrad confederates lists of European polluting enterprises that are trying to infiltrate Soviet territory.

"Of course, given the poor development of the 'Green' movement in the USSR, it is hard to expect the requisite opposition to the anti-environmental monsters," V. Gushchin, cochairman of the Leningrad "Green" Party, commented on the disappointing events. "However, we can promise considerable trouble for our enterprises that find themselves on the international 'black' list if they try to trade in the international arena."

Residents Compensated for Contaminated Apartments

PM2009125590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by S. Sergeyev: "Radiation Compensation"]

[Text] A joint session of the Omsk Oblast and City Soviets has decided to pay compensation to people who have been living in apartments with high background radiation.

A year ago there was a scandal in Omsk that cost the career of V. Konovalov, chief of the "Omskstroy" Main Administration. The oblast soviet executive committee gave him a vote of no confidence for his efforts to make up the ground lost when building houses from... radioactive panels. Then there were numerous commissions which identified instances of builders' using gravel from the Makinsk quarry in Kazakhstan, which has high background radiation, since the early fifties.

The result is compensation. At the moment partial—mere kopeks for sure—from the city's sieve-like coffers.... But there is an important principle here. According to experts, compensation is the first step toward the establishment of differentiated payment for housing, depending on its quality.

Bashkir Soviets Asked Not To Change Structure

PM2009134590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Zinovyev: "Deputies Defend Executive Committees"]

[Text] Ufa—The Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] has made it incumbent on the autonomous republic's local soviets to refrain from changing their structure.

This decision was prompted by an appeal to the Bashkir supreme organ of state power by a group of republican, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic],

and USSR people's deputies which was read out at the Supreme Soviet session. It expressed concern at the fact that, in the course of the reorganization of the structure of soviets that is currently taking place locally, the role of executive bodies is being played down and in some places executive committees are eliminated altogether and their functions taken over by soviet presidiums.

A total of 5 million rubles have already been spent on reorganization in Bashkiria, the appeal says. An amendment has been made to the law, stipulating that only non-deputies can work in executive committees. Therefore many senior executive committee apparatus officials have said that they will no longer be running for election while others, having been elected to the soviet, have been forced to make statements terminating their activities as deputies. The view is growing that executive committees are unnecessary. As a result, local executive authority is demoralized.

The introduction of a system of management in the soviets that is borrowed from party bodies, wherein the soviet presidium is the bureau and the session is the plenum, has not done any good.

A draft new structure has been devised for local organs of power and management. After discussion it will be submitted to the republican Supreme Soviet for approval.

Housing Problems Hampering Dukhobor Resettlement

PM2009114990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Report by L. Lyubyy and A. Kudeli from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This spring, in connection with the exacerbation of ethnic relations, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision to resettle citizens from the Dukhobor religious community, at their own request, from Bogdanovskiy Rayon in the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] to Chernskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast. Here is our report on the progress of the resettlement.

[Correspondent] The villages of Arkhangelskoye and Yuzhnoye are supposed to be resettled with 1,000 Dukhobor families. By the time the Council of Ministers decision was made, these villages had become virtual ghost towns. As people say nowadays, they "had no future." Each had just five or six inhabitants left. This was why Monashov, chairman of Chernskiy Soviet Executive Committee, believes that the resettlement of the Dukhobors is one way to revive life in the area. [passage omitted] There is just over a couple of months to go till winter, and construction work is proceeding extremely slowly. Just 13 houses have been built in Arkhangelskoye. The Dukhobors are living in these huts, with two or three families in each one. But there are not even enough huts. Yet they have nowhere to go back to. Their homes in Georgia have been sold, and now they can only live here—in their historic homeland. Not a single house has been commissioned in Yuzhnoye. This is because the Tulamelioratsiya Association, which is conducting the construction here, is not being particularly conscientious about its duties. Incidentally, virtually all the construction work is being done by the Dukhobors themselves—and virtually at their own expense. This is because Tulamelioratsiya is also responsible for supplying both the equipment and the construction materials—which have been and still are very thin on the ground. And yet the Dukhobors want to resettle in a rayon where areas without a single house for 30 km in any direction are nothing unusual. So the resettling of the Dukhobors—with their willingness and ability to work—is one of the most realistic chances today to revive the Russian village way of life in Tula Oblast's Chernskiy Rayon.

Pugo's Visit to Chelyabinsk Oblast Reported

PM2009123990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS Correspondent under the "Everyday Politics" rubric: "Time to Tighten the Screw A Bit More?"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk, 18 Sep—A lack of stability in work and even confusion have become typical of many labor collectives prior to the national economy's switch to the market. Even industrial giants like the Chelyabinsk tractor plant are not immune to that.

B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission, was able to see this for himself when he visited the oblast. He saw the plant's half-empty main conveyer belt and the robot welding lines, which were bought abroad for hard currency, standing idle through a lack of metal.

In this complex situation, the leaders of primary party organizations were in some disarray. From habit they continue to wait for the higher authorities to tell them what specifically to do at a time when people, disillusioned with perestroyka, are leaving the party. The CPSU Central Committee was criticized, and on numerous occasions at that, for failing to give primary party organizations clear guidelines.

"It is senseless to wait for instructions," B.K. Pugo noted. "After all, each region of the country and even each collective has its own priority tasks which people understand and which must be resolved immediately to stabilize the situation. The CPSU must be the defender of working people's social rights and its forces must be mobilized to that end today. But it is easier to see locally how that should be done."

In conversations with industrial and rural workers, party workers, and production leaders the chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission paid great attention to the transition to market relations.

"When there is no discipline and order it is difficult, sometimes impossible to carry out reforms," B.K. Pugo said at a meeting with the oblast party aktiv. "It is necessary to stabilize the situation and ensure the precise fulfillment of commitments by each enterprise and each person. Opinions are being expressed that the time has come to ban rallies and strikes and tighten the screws a bit. But all that is in the past and the people will not go back to that. The time has come for the CPSU to begin acting resolutely, defending its position everywhere, and implementing it confidently within the soviets."

Pashkov Elected Kurgan Obkom First Secretary

PM2009122790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the "Official News" rubric: "CPSU Oblast Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Kurgan, 18 Sep—A plenum of the Kurgan CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee] was held today. An organizational question was examined.

By a majority of votes G.I. Pashkov, formerly second secretary of the oblast party organization, was elected first secretary of the Kurgan CPSU Obkom.

Omsk Oblast Committee First Secretary Resigns

PM2109095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Yu. Shpakov: "Refusing to Combine Jobs"]

[Text] Omsk, 19 Sep—A plenum of Omsk CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] was held yesterday to examine an organizational matter. Obkom First Secretary A. Leontyev asked to be relieved of his duties since he is also chairman of the oblast soviet and it is very difficult to combine the two jobs. The plenum granted his request. Second Secretary N. Zhuravlev was appointed acting first secretary until the oblast party conference. The plenum adopted an appeal to Communists and all working people of the oblast sharply condemning the cases of desecration of the memory of V.I. Lenin and calling for a resolute struggle against political vandalism.

New First Secretary of Tatar Obkom Elected

LD2109091490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] The conference of the Tatar party organization, which ended today, examined an organizational issue. After Shaymiyev, first secretary of the CPSU obkom [oblast party committee], was elected chairman of the Tatar Supreme Soviet, delegates held elections for a new leader of the republican party organization. On an alternative basis, (Idiatullin), who had earlier worked as a secretary at the same obkom, was elected first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom.

Western Republics

Belorussian Communist Party Abolishes Raykoms

PM2009125990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Mikhail Shimanskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Apparatus Reduced"]

[Text] Gomel—A Belorussian Communist Party obkom [oblast committee] plenum has decided to abolish party raykoms [rayon committee] in the city. Only the gorkom [city committee] now remains.

"As a result," M. Machulenko, second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party obkom, says, "there will be 45 people working in the city party apparatus instead of 105. Substantial structural changes will also occur in the party obkom. Three commissions are being created here: commissions of organizational-party work and ideological work and a commission on questions of socioeconomic policy. It has been deemed expedient to form an administration of affairs and control commission in the oblast party organization. As a result the obkom apparatus is being reduced 30 percent."

Throughout the oblast as a whole the party apparatus is being more than halved—instead of 557 full time party workers it is planned to have 258.

Belorussian Decree on Associations Published

90UN2801A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 1

["Decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet: On Registration of Public Associations in the Belorussian SSR"]

[Text] In accordance with Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the Constitution of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], taking into account the increased activity of citizens in resolving the tasks of the further development of democracy and in more fully implementing self-government of the people, and in connection with a change in the functions and powers of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. Before adopting the Belorussian SSR and USSR laws "On Public Associations," to charge the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers with adopting the provisional statute "On a Procedure for Forming Public Associations of Citizens in the Belorussian SSR and on Their Activities" before 1 September 1990.

2. To stipulate that a refusal to register a republic-level public association may be appealed within a month in the Supreme Court of the Belorussian SSR and that a refusal to register local public associations may be appealed in the appropriate court within that same time period.

3. To determine that public associations are carrying out production economics activities and are creating enterprises and cost-accounting organizations only with the goal of carrying out the tasks mentioned in their statutes and according to procedure established by legislation.

[Signed] N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.
[Dated] Minsk, 28 July 1990.

Moldavia Communist Party Plans To End 'Crisis'

LD2009163390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 20 Sep (TASS)—The sociopolitical situation in the republic remains extremely explosive. The increase in nationalist confrontation and the emphasis on resolving urgent problems exclusively through the use of force pose the real threat of a loss of territorial integrity. Such is the evaluation contained in a resolution of the Bureau of the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee.

The republican party press organs today published the Communist Party Bureau proposals for a way out of the sociopolitical crisis. The Communist Party of Moldova, the document stresses, is concentrating its efforts on searching for a political solution to accumulated problems, to establishing effective and constant dialogue between all social forces and movements, and to achieving civil concord in the republic. There are two paths for the development of events; either the whipping up of hostility and further confrontation, or concentrating on dialogue, consensus, and solving problems jointly. The Moldova Communist party Central Committee is resolutely in favor of the second path, believing that all chances for stabilizing the situation in the republic have not been exhausted. Reserves remain untapped for parliamentary solutions to the accumulated problems, as well as opportunities for popular diplomacy. It would be wise and courageous not to let events get out of control, and not to allow clashes to take place.

Ukraine To Enforce Agricultural Export Limits

LD2009125790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree on measures to improve supplies of agricultural products to the republic's population. It is asserted in the decree that some Union republics have unilaterally raised the purchase prices of agricultural products. In this connection, the collective and state farms and other enterprises of the Ukraine are prohibited from selling beyond the bounds of the republic products over and above the established level of exports for that product. This measure will be in effect until market relations come into force. Sanctions involving fines are envisaged for violation of the decree.

Ukrainian Decree Banning Food Exports Adopted

LD2009160690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted a decree on measures to improve the supply of agricultural products to the republic's population. Collective and state farms and other agricultural enterprises, cooperatives and trading organizations are to be banned from making any sales of agricultural products outside the Ukraine in excess of the volumes set for export. Penalties have been instituted for breaches of the decree. All proceeds from the marketing of products outside the republic will be confiscated and added to the republican budget. A fine of the same proportions will also be imposed. The decree is now in force.

Trade Privatization Program Approved in Kharkov

904F0256B Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by M. Yurchenko: "Buy, Sellers!"]

[Text] **The deputies' commissions of the Kharkov Oblast Soviet yesterday adopted the draft of the first stage in the withdrawal of the state from ownership of trade, public services, and public catering facilities in the oblast.**

"The draft of the reorganization was based on the concept of Moscow City Soviet and Moscow Executive Committee, which we took as a model," said I. Bey, deputy chairman of the Kharkov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee. "It provides for the transfer of ownership from state enterprises to groups of lease-holders and joint-stock companies, which will be given full freedom in their administrative and entrepreneurial activity. Even a tiny hairdresser's shop will be able to open its own bank account. Those who now work in stores, public baths, and repair shops will be given primary consideration with respect to the right to purchase any of these enterprises. The people's experience, added to their material interest in expanding turnover and the volume of services offered, will help us have more goods on the shelves, do away with ill treatment of customers, and eliminate hoarding. We will insist that the draft become effective upon its adoption."

The Oblast Soviet Executive Committee expects the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session to clarify the issue of introducing private ownership in industries, without which the market economy is impossible. As soon as the corresponding law is passed, the second stage of the campaign will begin: privatization of public service facilities.

Ukrainian Party Implementing 40-Percent Staff Cuts

PM2009114390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Party Secretaries Seeking Work"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Communist Party is experiencing another—already its second—reorganization: A new and considerable cutback in the party apparatus is coming.

Changes are taking place at every level of the party pyramid. For example, there are currently 320 senior officials on the Central Committee personnel roster; after the reorganization there will remain 183. The bulk of the staff cuts will however be made up of raykom [rayon committee], gorkom [city committee], and obkom [oblast committee] workers. Their personnel roster will shrink by approximately 40 percent. A total of 5,600 senior officials and 3,900 technical workers are being released through the reorganization of the Ukrainian Communist Party apparatus.

Such changes in the lives of those falling "under the ax" cannot be described as joyful, but as the saying goes needs must prevail. The new conditions in society dictate the switch to new methods of political work and demand that the apparatus be made more mobile and flexible. Raykoms—where retained—and gorkoms will henceforth have only two or three secretaries, and the post of consultant will be introduced to replace instructors. This means not just a change of name but changes in the very nature of people's work. The party apparatus' basic job now will mostly be to provide an information service to the elected organs—analytical study of various questions, counselling, and organization of research on acute social issues.

But what is to become now of the workers whose jobs have been cut? The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Commitee considers that job placement for the workers being released will not cause great difficulties. According to their records, they are highly skilled specialists and are young enough to "change jobs." One might have agreed with this optimistic opinion had the last Ukrainian Communist Party congress not cited contrary examples: Even released raykom, gorkom, and obkom secretaries have not found work for months in some places. It is difficult in the Ukraine today to refute in any way those who claim that the profession of party worker has now become the most precarious of all.

Kiev Sanctions Use of Prerevolutionary Symbols

PM2009123590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the rubric: "Direct Line": "Choice of Anthem, Coat of Arms, and Flag"]

[Text] Kiev—Kiev has become the first city in the country to allow on its territory the simultaneous use of two flags, two coats of arms, and two anthems.

It is not ruled out that this innovation will lay the foundation to the peaceful coexistence of state and national symbols. For the Ukraine this problem has been considered unresolved for over 70 years. Supporters of the old national flag, coat of arms, and anthem were usually immediately ascribed to the camp of the bourgeois nationalists.

The Kiev Soviet presidium recently adopted a resolution which contains a reference to the declaration on the Ukraine's state sovereignty and particularly stresses that "for many centuries the blue and yellow flag and 'trident' coat of arms have become asserted as the Ukrainian people's national symbols while the anthem 'shche ne vmerla Ukraina' [The Ukraine Is Not Yet Dead] was the most widespread anthem in the Ukraine in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century." Therefore, "being concerned to preserve the Ukrainian people's spiritual traditions and proceeding from the fact that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic legislation now in operation does not ban the use of Ukrainian national symbols," the Kiev Soviet presidium has decreed to allow the use in Kiev, alongside the state flag, coat of arms, and anthem of the republic, the national blue and yellow flag, the "trident" coat of arms, and the anthem "shche ne vmerla Ukraina."

Ukrainian Youth Union Elects New First Secretary

PM2009125190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent O. Musafirova: "One of Two Wins"]

[Text] Kiev—Yesterday's second plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Youth Union (MDS) Central Committee elected a new leader. First Secretary Anatoliy Matviyenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Commission for Youth Affairs, had tendered his resignation. There were two candidates for the post of first secretary—Central Committee Secretaries Vladimir Butko and Sergey Vovchenko. They had been nominated by the Central Committee Bureau since no healthy initiatives had come from the floor.

The elections were very calm and swift. Without preliminary intrigues, without disputes in the corridors, without a struggle between candidates, and even without a discussion of the candidacies at the plenum. The contenders are well known. Both Sergey and Vladimir share the same platform of moderate democratic reforms. Sergey Vovchenko won by a majority of votes.

Kharkov Party City Committee Abolished

PM2009130590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Anatoliy Kleva under the rubric "Direct Line": "Party Gorkom Abolished"]

[Text] Kharkov—That was the decision adopted by a combined plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee] and Gorkom [City Committee].

The obkom has taken over leadership of the nine rayon organizations. The post of secretary has been introduced in order to coordinate their actions. He is Oleg Demin—one of the most recognized leaders in the city and formerly gorkom second secretary.

The newspaper VECHERNIY KHARKOV has changed its status as a result of the reorganization—it came out as a city paper on Saturday.

Caucasus

Armenian First Deputy, Deputy Premiers Appointed

NC2109100190 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Viktor Ambartsumyan, world-renowned scientist, academician, and USSR people's deputy, marked his birthday on 18 September while on a political hunger strike in Moscow in protest of the USSR's unbridled anti-Armenian policy and in support of the restoration of the soviets' power in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

The Armenian parliament deputies sent warm congratulatory greetings to Viktor Ambartsumyan, wished him strength and health, and hoped for the realization of the Armenian people's aspirations for which the elderly scientist and the other elected deputies have spoken out.

The parliament also considered the nominations of the first deputy chairman and two deputy chairmen of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers as well nominations to some ministerial posts.

The parliament debated the nominees put forward by the government and sponsored by the parliamentary commissions for the post of first deputy chairman and deputy chairmen of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

Gevork Khrachikovich Vardanyan was confirmed as first deputy chairman, and Ruben Mkrtichovich Chiftalaryan and Mikhail Samsonovich Grigoryan were confirmed as deputy chairmen of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

The parliament passed relevant decisions in this regard.

The parliament is continuing its deliberations.

Armenian, Russian Long-Term Treaty Planned

LD2009201290 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By ARMENPRES-TASS correspondents Garriy Galustyan and Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 20 TASS—President of the Armenian Parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan today sent a message to President of the Russian Parliament Boris Yeltsin, expressing interest in maintaining the present economic relations between the two republics.

He praised the aid of Russian builders in restoration work in the quake-stricken zone.

Ter-Petrosyan expressed readiness to begin drafting a long-term political treaty between the Russian Federation and Armenia.

Today's newspapers published Yeltsin's letter to Ter-Petrosyan. The Russian president noted that strong relations between the two republics based on mutual respect should develop in future.

The Armenian Parliament today continued the debate on a new government which was started on Wednesday. Legislators did not come to a consensus on some candidates and decided to continue the discussion on Friday.

The cabinet will consist of over 30 ministers and chairmen of state committees.

According to communiques of the Armenian Interior Ministry, ammunition and firearms were voluntarily surrendered over the past 24 hours thanks to the explanatory work. Motor vehicles were returned to their owners.

Armenian Officials Hold Moscow News Conference

LD2009195490 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Babken Araktsyan and First Deputy Prime Minister Ruben Chiftalaryan told a news conference here today about the political and economic situation in the republic.

The achievement of full republican sovereignty is one of the principal tasks of the new leadership of Armenia, Araktsyan said. On the economic front, the republic plans to transfer to private ownership and market relations.

Much importance is attached to assistance from the Armenian diaspora in other countries. Plans are being made to establish joint ventures using their capital.

It was stressed that the establishment of close ties with Soviet republics was viewed by the Armenian Government as pivotal in its activity.

Ways of stabilising the situation in Armenia were also discussed during the news conference.

Concern Shown for Protesters' Health in Armenia

LD2009213190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] One more problem has recently been added to the countless problems, concerns and troubles of Armenia's inhabitants—the concern about the state of health of five of the country's Supreme Soviet deputies who have gone on hunger strike in protest against the destruction of the Soviet power structures in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Concern about the health of the participants in this extreme form of protest pervades the address of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic, which was published today in republican newspapers, to the parliaments of the world's countries, to the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, to the USSR Supreme Soviet session, and to the UN Human Rights Commission.

In the meantime the life of the republic is increasingly returning to normal. The number of offenses has fallen considerably. The state of emergency and the curfew hardly disturb the rhythm of work in the earthquake zone and in other towns and rayons of the republic, where this rhythm has tangibly slowed down in the last few weeks because of shortages of fuel, components, and construction materials. Great damage is still being caused both to the economy and everyday life by the shortage of natural gas, the supply of which was suspended on the Azerbaijani section of the gas pipeline exactly a month ago. Here in the republic many hopes for overcoming the economic crisis are being pinned on the work of the new Council of Ministers which is still be formed at the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Russian Workers To Continue Aiding Armenians

PM2009124390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent S. Bablumyan: "Russian Construction Workers Remain in Armenia"]

[Text] Yerevan—The closer the cold fall weather gets, the more obvious it becomes that tens of thousands of families rendered homeless by the earthquake will be forced to spend the winter in makeshift accomodation that is unsuitable for normal life.

Thousands of construction workers from many of the country's republics and oblasts are helping put the destroyed cities and villages back on their feet. However, a tendency for construction workers to leave had of late been observed at construction sites in the disaster zone.

Today the situation in Armenia is beginning to change for the better. Along with the republic's population, these changes are also noticed by construction workers in the disaster zone, as shown by a telegram sent to I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, by the leaders of Russian construction organizations on behalf of the collectives. It says, in particular: "As a result of the emergency measures taken by the new government of Armenia, the situation in the republic has improved and is under control. We ask you to confirm by a decision of the RSFSR government our firm intention to remain and work in Armenia. We are convinced that Russian construction workers should fulfill their duty as internationalists and human beings and provide shelter for the disaster victims."

Armenian Pannational Congress Set for 23 Nov

NC2109094590 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] In accordance with a decision by the council of the Armenian Pannational Movement, the second congress of the Armenian Pannational Movement will be convened on 23 November. The public has been informed about this in a notice published in YEREKOYAN YEREVAN.

Azerbaijani Communists Address Electorate

90US1292A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 1

["Appeal of the Delegates of the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party to the Voters, the Azerbaijani People, and the Workers of the Republic"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Our people are on the eve of an important political campaign—the elections to the Supreme Soviet and to the local soviets of people's deputies. We believe they are called to promote an intensification of democratic processes and unity of all healthy forces. Preparations are taking place during intensive perestroyka in the economy and social life.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress delegates, expressing the will of the Communists of the republic, drafted optimal ways of leading the republic out of the existing situation that have been set forth in the platform and affirmed by the congress.

At the same time, considering the complexity of the current moment, we decided to appeal to all voters and workers of Azerbaijan and declare:

—Communists will do everything to achieve real economic sovereignty of the republic, to affirm social justice, to accelerate socioeconomic development, to resolve housing and ecological problems, and to quickly satisfy the needs of the population for food products. We support a regulated market economy for its multistructured arrangement with social protection of all strata of the population and of every worker, for

the broad development of complete mutually advantageous relations with the republics and oblasts of the USSR, and for contacts with foreign firms and enterprises;

—The Communist Party will promote the affirmation of an all-encompassing democracy, comradeship, frankness, glasnost, and criticism. The party considers its strategic task to be the support of suitable living conditions for all of the people of Azerbaijan, and an increase in the welfare of each person and every family, and through this of all society. It supports the establishment of a system of legislative and social protection of the people and the administration of major measures to improve the conditions of their work and everyday living;

—The Azerbaijan Communist Party also will further intensify its efforts to implement perestroyka in the republic and to consolidate society and achieve civic harmony, and it will continue work that has been started to expand and transfer functions of authority and administration to the soviets of people's deputies; it will resolutely overcome existing defects in restructuring party life; it will intensify efforts for its democratization, for a transition to the authority of the party masses, and for arranging energetic daily contacts with work collectives, with all layers of the population, and with every person;

—The Azerbaijan Communists supported and will continue to support an expansion of party sovereignty which should in full measure correspond to the principles of the national and state sovereignty of the republic;

—We are against interference in the affairs of Nagorno-Karabakh no matter which side initiates it. We support quick normalization and reconciliation, intensification of peacemaking activity for the sake of achieving real harmony in Nagorno-Karabakh, and resolution of problems by legal and political methods on the basis of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR];

—We categorically condemn the actions of the anticonstitutional forces for the militarization of Armenia which threaten the region. We will continue working to reinforce the borders of the republic, and we will provide reliable protection for its territorial integrity. We assess the provisions of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, the Law on the Sovereignty of the Republic, and the ukase of the president of the USSR on banning illegal armed formations and the confiscation of arms, as a guarantee of improvement in the regional situation;

—The Communist Party of the republic has supported and does support the pluralism of opinions, for dialogue, and for a multiparty system. We have only one criterion for political partnership and cooperation: the socialist choice, a communist outlook, respect for constitutional laws, creativity and not destruction. Our aim is the welfare of every person and the prosperity of Azerbaijan.

—The Communist Party will do everything to see that concern for children and youth, and women and veterans, becomes a priority of all republic programs;

—We are for a comprehensive renewal of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] and the development of contacts with other democratic youth movements;

—Communists will continue to be true to their internationalistic sources and to develop internal union and international contacts.

We call on Communists and nonparty members to vigorously participate in the preparations for and the conduct of the elections. In these elections, the Azerbaijan Communist Party implements its parliamentary functions in a democratic bloc with soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, and all progressive social organizations and movements.

The party must find the key to the minds and hearts of people and convince them that grain and vegetables are not grown at rallies and in public squares, and that clothes and shoes are not stitched in club discussions. It is the Communist Party, appealing to the people for common sense and unity, that guarantees people stability, security, and a peaceful life.

Party organizations are directing all of their forces, ability, energy, and power to resolving national programs. The Azeri people will decide these tasks together with all people who live in the republic. We are for a renewed Union treaty that grants the people of the USSR not declared but real sovereign rights.

The delegates of the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress express sincere gratitude to veterans of the party, of war, and of work, and to all elders who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the happiness of the people; and they declare that the renewing party will continue in the future to count on their wisdom and life experience and to rely on their knowledge and belief in a bright future for our people. We hope they will actively participate in the elections with their good advice and wise words.

The congress calls on the young voters not to succumb to emotions and ill-reasoned appeals and to give their vote to people with clean hands and warm hearts, true patriots of the Motherland who are capable of making a worthy contribution to the cause of the economic and political strengthening of our republic.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress, appealing to scientific, cultural, and artistic figures, and to the entire intelligentsia of the republic who represent the flower of the nation and the intellectual potential of our people, summon them to active participation in a revolutionary renewal of life, to support of the party's efforts

to consolidate and improve our society, and to the formation of a prestigious and hard-working deputy corps.

On the eve of a most important political campaign—elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies—the delegates of the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress urge the voters and all workers of the republic to display unity and maturity and to approach with a great sense of responsibility the nomination and election of our deputy corps and the creation of a new republic parliament on whose decisions the fate of perestroyka, and the fate of the entire Azerbaijani people, will depend.

Georgian Party 'Target' in Election Campaign

PM2109081790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent L. Arshantsev: "Aims and Methods"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The appeals currently being made in the local press by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee are full of alarm and concern. The Communist Party has now become the target for mass attacks, threats, and blackmail by radical "colleagues" during the election campaign. Direct or indirect attempts are being made to pit Communists against the national movement and to discredit them in the people's eyes.

The political barometer is no longer at "clear" but is pointing to the right. The V.I. Lenin Monument in front of the Georgian Communist Party building was barbarically destroyed Sunday 9 September. In its statement, the Central Committee called this another act of vandalism and provocation. More was to follow. Members of sundry organizations—which we still call informal in the old style—started picketing the buildings of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Court, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and KGB as well as the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. A spokesman [spiker] of the "Roundtable" parties appeared on republic television 10 September. He is Z. Gamsakhurdia, also leader of the Georgian Helsinki Union. The speaker demanded that the Georgian Communist Party be dissolved before 14 September and that it be prohibited from taking part in elections to the Supreme Soviet since it is a component of the CPSU and allegedly has no right to interfere in the republic's affairs. The demands included a call for depoliticization of the press, radio, and TV and the withdrawal of the MVD from all-union subordination.

Incidentally, the published "Roundtable" memorandum also talks about dissolving the KGB and banning all treaties signed recently by the "communist regime." I will not list all the provisions of the document which takes up an entire newspaper page; I will move on to the final part of the memorandum. It is reminiscent of an ultimatum.

Recalling Z. Gamsakhurdia's recent interview, there is no doubt that the threat of large-scale actions is not mere hot air. And what about the well-known carry-on at Samtredia Railroad Station? Its impact was "felt," according to calculations by the country's Ministry of Railways, by around 120,000 of our fellow-countrymen. The moral and material damage is still taking its toll. It is curious that, while declaring himself to be a defender of human rights and an ardent supporter of the Helsinki movement, Gamsakhurdia nonetheless uses methods which objectively flout these rights.

Georgian Pre-Election Situation Examined

LD2009224390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday, in "Vremya," there was a USSR KGB Collegium statement in connection with an attack on a KGB building in Georgia. Today we have a report from Nana Gongadze:

[Gongadze] There is a very complicated and contradictory atmosphere in Georgia on the eve of two very important events. On 30 September there will be elections to the national congress. Six blocs of various political parties will be participating. On 28 October, for the first time in the country, there will be multiparty elections to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. No one yet has any experience in holding them—hence the excessive nervousness of a number of public and political groups, and attempts to express themselves in the language of ultimatums and threats.

Members of the Ilya the Righteous Society have been picketing outside the KGB for four days, demanding its elimination. Outside Government House, an action by the Women in Black has been going on for two weeks expressing claims against the bodies of law and order and their officials.

During the early hours of 19 September, criminals threw gasoline bombs into a room of the building where the headquarters of the Georgian National Independence Party are situated, and then carried out a pogrom. Considerable damage was caused to the editorial and publishing offices of the (DROEBA) newspaper. Automatic weapon cartridge cases were found at the scene of the crime. Investigations are continuing.

[Begin video recording] [M. Galoblishvili in Georgian to Russian translation] May their arms drop off for what they have done. We demand punishment in the name of the whole people.

[T. Sumbatashvili, member of the main committee of the Georgian National Independence Party, in Georgian to Russian translation] So far it is has been discovered that the electoral lists for three rayons have been destroyed. We will have to set ourselves up again as quickly as

possible. As you understand this is a very difficult task. Obviously the provocation was aimed against the elections to the national congress. This crime must be exposed as quickly as possible and not tolerated in future so that our people may go along the path of democratic transformations onto the broad road leading Georgia to genuine freedom. [end recording]

Central Asia

Nazarbayev Interviewed on Kazakh Situation

PM1909114790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with N. Nazarbayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by G. Dildyayev, in Alma-Ata; date not given: "'We Have Our Own Path...'"

[Text] Alma-Ata—[Dildyayev] Nursultan Abishevich, I recall that, on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress, we tried to imagine what it would be like and what would happen afterwards. Incidentally, my forecasts were more pessimistic than yours at the time, although even you could not be ranked among the rosy optimists. Well then, what did we get right and what did we get wrong?

[Nazarbayev] Today it is no harder to make negative predictions than to forecast bad weather in the fall. It's a safe occupation. You have to be far more perspicacious or just sharper-sighted to see something new emerge with very great difficulty, something that will determine the future of the party and society.

[Dildyayev] You have to want to see it, too....

[Nazarbayev] Yes. So the increasingly stifling regimentation and strict uniformity in party work, ideology, and the economy is dying out. Liberation from dogma and myth is a painful process. But it is a process, they cannot be eradicated overnight. the drugs and poisons of the system have already eaten painfully deep into the subcortex and gray matter. Hence throwbacks are possible. We also saw this at the congress. Assessing this today, I think that we could have gone even further in democratizing the party and drawn more precise ideological and theoretical conclusions. But the congress probably wasn't capable of more. In my view, the purpose of the congress was to provide a base and to mark out the limits of the springboard from which we cannot retreat a single step but can only go forward. The idea that republic party communists should assume full responsibility with no exceptions—an idea that I personally consider to be fundamental—was confirmed. The idea that they should value dissent, respect other people's opinions, and have their own position without fail, without looking to former authorities or simply looking "to the top." The congress legitimized this—something that was viewed quite recently as dreadful sedition—as being in the national and republic interests of the Communist Party.

In short, I categorically disagree with people who think that we lost more at the congress than we gained.

[Dildyayev] Forgive me, but it is a striking fact that many communists and party committees are currently confused. This comes as no surprise: They have rid themselves of their command functions, although through inertia they are responsible in public eyes for everything and are criticized both by the grassroots, who are rapidly acquiring a political character, and by the parliamentary upper echelons who have developed a taste for power. You cannot help growing sad and confused. What is to be done, where are we to apply our efforts in the new conditions?

[Nazarbayev] Yet everyone is now living in new conditions, on the eve of radical change. Helping people find their bearings, adapt to these changes, and organize the transition to the market is a splendid opportunity to realize our potential, a most rewarding business. One is conscious that not everyone is ready for this. But there is no way of avoiding it. More precisely, we can move into the background, retire from public life.

[Dildyayev] What is to be done? This question does not, for instance, worry S. Akhimbekov, secretary of Taldy-Kurgan party obkom [oblast committee], who is taking care of the countryside. He is obsessed by the idea of turning the farms in one of the oblast's rayons into a union of cooperative workers. Do you understand? A party obkom secretary has become the main advocate and defender of cooperative workers, who saw this form of organizing the agricultural economy as the "only source of comfort." Is there any need to say that this party official enjoys respect, not by virtue of the post he holds.

[Nazarbayev] People have a vital need of explanatory work. What does privatization of property mean? What is the point of selling shares in enterprises, what is the reason for it? What will every worker gain? And what will the market in general produce? Party committees must answer all these and many other questions.

[Dildyayev] But the market and the present party structure are rather incompatible. There is a psychological element here....

[Nazarbayev] Yes, there is. Nevertheless this must be tackled in an intelligent fashion. Why? Resisting the inevitable is the worst policy of all. If we communists organize enterprises' transition to new conditions of economic activity, our party committees will remain at these enterprises. Otherwise, others will come along—no vacuum will arise there, in my view. As for arguing about how socialist the market is, I leave that to the theoreticians. We must act on the basis of life. Life will dictate the party's future.

Raising our voices in favor of the stability of international traditions and rebuffing nationalist manifestations is something that can and must maintain our prestige today. People will like party committees of that kind.

[Dildyayev] People have said and written that Kazakhstan is perhaps the quietest republic on the country's political map. I admit that there was a time when I was troubled by that fact: We were said to lead too quiet a life, whereas loud politicization was proceeding in all areas in other republics in leaps and bounds. I think differently now, seeing how these others have been thrown into turmoil.

[Nazarbayev] In what have we lagged behind? In the number of rallies we have held in proportion to the size of our population? I won't shed any tears about that. Some people have nudged and reproached me, saying that other republics have already announced their sovereignty and adopted a declaration, while we.... What's the point of races? We were incidentally among the first to talk about the need for republic sovereignty. A declaration constitutes an intention, but I would like to adopt a well-prepared law that will work. Our draft Union treaty recalls the fundamental provisions of the draft elaborated by Academician S. Shatalin's group. Particularly the section where the idea of republic sovereignty is given unequivocal support. If I admire any other experience at all, it is parliamentary culture and intelligible legislative work. That is, regrettably, something which we lack at present.

The people of Kazakhstan, certainly, do not deserve to be considered socially apathetic. Our "Greens" enjoy prestige, while the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" antinuclear movement is world-renowned. New movements, societies, and parties are being set up. I will say with hand on heart that they are not all to my personal liking. Illegal actions by some of their leaders and functionaries and attempts to rock and destabilize the situation will be dealt a most serious rebuff. But there are people like that, we can see them, as always they hide their aims behind lofty phrases about the interests of the people.... But that won't wash. Just as the separatism advocated by those who propose "detaching" from Kazakhstan its oblasts that border on Russia won't wash either. I heard the following during visits to major worker collectives and frank discussions about manifestations of this kind: "Comrade President, we support your policy, rely on us...." So, we're far from dozy.

But let's get back to the new political and social formations. If they act within the law, I will support their sympathies and antipathies, so to speak. Political pluralism must be ensured. Moreover, we communists need opponents. The fact that most of these movements and parties lack a social base, in my view, is another matter. The Kazakh Communist Party has the backing of the republic's people. We have renounced our decreed monopoly on power, but we have not renounced our desire to remain an active political force in the political arena.

[Dildyayev] I am often asked the following question: Isn't it the case that a mass exodus from the party has begun in Kazakhstan?

[Nazarbayev] We have analyzed who is leaving and who is replacing them. People are joining us from the same places. It is hard when you see an active person whom we need leaving the party. You think: He won't be directing his energies into actions.... Yet interesting, mature people are joining us, out of conviction, not just to get along. But there is no question of any mass exodus from the party. Our party has the trust of most of our republic's population.

[Dildyayev] What do you think about the calls for party repentance?

[Nazarbayev] This question is not as easy as many people think. Repentance relates to morality. Notably party morality. But repentance is after all a profoundly intimate thing, it is something that one engages in in private with oneself, with one's own conscience. Hypocrites repent loudly. I do not think that we are being summoned to repentance, to trial by the public, at rallies, to make a spectacle of ourselves. It is hard to imagine what form this may all take, and is indeed taking, given universal legal nihilism.

I am thinking about something else. Many communists' will has already been paralyzed by a guilt complex. What is to be done? In my view, we need to acknowledge our mistakes more fully and rapidly, and rectify them still more rapidly and fully.

Here's an example. The Karaganda Oblast party organization is one of the strongest in the republic, yet it has clearly not been lucky in its leaders over the last few years. The center's emissary—as we say—V. Lokotunin did not justify the hopes and went back. Whom should we recommend? A year ago I brought Ye. Bashmakov, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, to Karaganda and introduced him to an obkom plenum. But there was no need for introductions: Yevgeniy Fedorovich is from Karaganda. In short, the plenum backed my proposal: Ye. Bashmakov was elected first secretary. Obviously, we failed to consider and provide for everything. Worker and party committees effectively came into confrontation in the mining town of Karaganda amid the ferment of events.

So Ye. Bashmakov—a strong, experienced economic manager—proved incapable of shouldering this load and was unable to switch to political methods of work. Six months later the oblast communists failed to support him at a party conference and nominated V. Garkusha in whom they have more faith. I congratulated Vitaliy Stepanovich on this, and thanked the Karaganda crop farmers for the lesson.

[Dildyayev] Speaking recently on republic televison during the "Presidential Hour" program, you uttered the following—what seem to me to be—key words: "We have our own path." In my view, by combining the pace of political and economic change in a more sensible fashion, doing its utmost to safeguard social stability,

and preparing itself more carefully for the market, Kazakhstan is able to skirt many reefs and shoals and ultimately make progress toward real prosperity. Is that what you had in mind?

[Nazarbayev] One must take a broader view here, although you are essentially correct: All our plans will come to naught without social stability and civic peace. I once said the following: Anyone who infringes on this peace is my personal enemy. This frankness may not become me, but too much is at stake.

[Dildyayev] If you're not afraid of frankness, too much is at stake for you personally. You have just celebrated your 50th birthday, by law you are allowed two five-year terms during which you can, in principle, hold the supreme leadership post in the republic. You have ten years ahead for productive work—a chance to do a great deal.

[Nazarbayev] Yes, and I don't want to waste it. But let's get back to your question. So then, what is "our path"? It is determined by Kazakhstan's socioeconomic features.

The adminstrative edict system turned Kazakhstan into a raw material appendage of the country's economy. Hence the failure to develop structures geared to man: consumer goods production, housing construction. Hence the terrible state of the environment in many rayons and oblasts. All these distortions must be put to rights. That's the first thing. Second: Kazakhstan is an agrarian republic, but the countryside has not been industrially developed. We do not lead a bad life because we do not grow enough and only produce agricultural produce—we are unable to preserve and process this produce. The development of a processing industry implies the same shift toward man's needs.

The third feature—Kazakhstan's uniqueness, I would say—resides in its multiethnic nature. One cannot help but take this feature into consideration when shaping and implementing policy.

[Dildyayev] In short, the conclusions that "your own path" is a path for one nation are groundless. What would you say to people who fear possible diktat by a national partocracy? To those people who gave a guarded reception to the Alma-Ata conference involving the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan and to its avowed intention for closer political and economic cooperation?

[Nazarbayev] Kazakhstan is not a republic where one national idea can take the upper hand in all transformations. That is objective. You are aware of the ethnic, demographic split [rasklad]. In round figures, 80 percent of the republic's population is made up of Kazakhs and Russians equally, while 20 percent are representatives of a vast number of other nations and ethnic groups. This also determines the commonality of the path. We are "doomed"—in the good sense of the word—to live and progress together.

But these figures are just arithmetic, there is also higher mathematics. During a century of living together, the destinies of the peoples as a whole and of individual people in particular have become linked, and their common spiritual, moral, and economic potential has increased. Certainly, all manner of things have happened in history... But you cannot rewrite it... What happened happened. We can say this without reservation. That's a good thing, we must speak out. It's bad that people have begun to be ashamed to mention abiding assets: Our friendship and the natural respectful tolerance of people of different nationalities which has become part of the Kazakh—he is, incidentally, akin to the Russian in this. This is a panhuman trait on the whole.

I will say this. I keep on hearing people saying: You're a Kazakh, we have so many problems, get down to them, put the others on one side. What do I think about this? The Kazakhs do in fact have many problems—linguistic, cultural, socioeconomic—countless problems. I grieve at this.... I will do everything to ensure that the people feel themselves to be a people and not chaff on the path of history. To ensure that the national nihilism of those people who are prey to it gives way to proud, free sense of nationality. But—and this is of fundamental importance—I will not yield an inch on another point: Any national acquisitions must not be made at anyone else's expense. You must not lower others in elevating yourself. I will take an equally interested part in resolving the problems of all the republic's peoples.

[Dildyayev] I think that the friendship between the peoples of Kazakhstan is a gold reserve which will ensure our passage through the reefs and shoals of hard times.

[Nazarbayev] Then we said that the Communist Pa. .y holds firm positions in the republic. I am sure that however the sociopolitical process develops, the party will remain an international party, that is, it will reflect the makeup of the population. Consequently, leadership cannot be monoethnic, either now or in the future.

Now a word about our regional conference and the documents signed there. What is more natural, one would have thought, than for neighboring republics to link themselves by horizontal economic ties in conditions of decentralization? Especially since we have a vast number of preconditions for this—historical, cultural, and so on—in our republic. That is not the case, arguments have been heard in a treatise by dilettantes and amateur politicians about reviving a certain mythical "Greater Turkestan." Why's that? It's another "era," the market is knocking at the door, new economic policy is nudging us toward integration and a mutually beneficial increase in productive forces. And that is the crux of the documents signed by the leaders of the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republics].

I have strong nerves and am not prone to being overly suspicious. But you cannot help thinking that our stability is not to everybody's liking when, for instance, you

read the following headlines in a Moscow newspaper, proclaiming "Trouble in Kazakhstan" with unconcealed delight. You know that I have always respected journalists and valued my professional or purely friendly relations with them—and still do. I understand both the significance and the complexity of your work, I take delight in felicitous articles, I study them, reading in-depth articles and taking a tolerant attitude to the mistakes that do regrettably occur—the pinpricks, you would say. I am not afraid of being seen as a suppressor of glasnost and a persecutor of the press, I will say that I will never be able to understand or accept articles which provoke interethnic tension, wittingly or not. I deny their authors' professionalism in both cases. A ready pen without a perspicacious mind is extremely dangerous....

...Life is hard now. So is work. Leadership is hard. It is very hard to get out of the habit of waiting for commands, instructions, and directives. None are forthcoming, and you are free to choose your decisions. But responsibility comes in the wake of freedom.

Things were quieter and more comfortable when we were all comrades-in-arms together. Isn't this why we all loved parades, marches, well-organized processions, and regular lines of demonstrators?

[Dildyayev] Gigantic colorful "lifelike" pictures were drawn on stadium rostrums by people obeying orders. We went further than everyone with this "socialist art."

[Nazarbayev] I think that you can only take one path all together. The more roads to a good life the better. Seek your own. With your eyes open, without persisting in your delusions.

Kirghizia's Osh Normalizing After Concessions

90US1323A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by K. Bayalinov, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "Divide and Rule?"]

[Text] Soviet Army units were recently withdrawn from the Osh oblast and the political situation there is gradually returning to normal. Industrial enterprises, transportation, and public catering facilities are working now.

It has been announced that former oblast leaders—oblast party committee [obkom] Secretaries N. Davydov and S. Bakhapova—will now be doing... administrative work.

The second congress of the "Ashar" voluntary society, which unites tens of thousands of "builders" [people seeking to build on vacant lots], the homeless and the unemployed, took place in Dzal. The village is outside the area where a state of emergency and curfew have been declared, under which it is not allowed to conduct mass sociopolitical actions. The congress was held in the open, heavily guarded by armed law-enforcement officials.

The movement was born after crowds seized vacant lots of land in the Frunze outskirts in June of last year in order to provide a shelter for every homeless person. The "Ashar" members are trying to set up direct contacts with Siberian enterprises, which are supposed to send to them lumber and other construction materials.

Confronted by the authorities and the bureaucratic machine, "Ashar" was transformed from a purely administrative organization into a powerful political force—the backbone of the People's Front.

Before it ended, the congress adopted a number of resolutions including one "On the Political Evaluation of the Osh Events."

The second stage of the Kirgizia Communist Party 19th Congress ended in Frunze. It approved a program to resolve the republic's living space crisis by the year 2000. It also approved the status of the Communist Party of Kirgizia, which states that the Kirgizia Communist Party is one of the CPSU units and is guided by the CPSU standard methods documents in organization.

At the congress speakers criticized party leaders with respect to Osh Oblast events and the situation in the republic. They talked about a crisis in the political power and about the resignation of the entire Central Committee Bureau. The congress restored the rights of A. Sultanov and K. Kozubekov, who had been relieved of their positions because they criticized former KGB republic Chairman V. Ryabokon (see KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 January, 1990).

The Communist forum made an unprecedented decision: They voted to create Frunze Oblast which, under the conditions of power separation and transfer of the legislative functions to the soviets, is definitely the prerogative of the republic's Supreme Soviet. The forum ended by sending a letter to M.S. Gorbachev, asking him to take the necessary measures to safeguard the name and the legacy of V.I. Lenin, of Leninism, and of the ideals of the October Revolution.

Russian Exodus Causes Problems in Kirghiz Economy

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[Report by Aleksandr Ryabushkin under the rubric "Direct Line": "Russians Are Leaving Kirghizia"]

[Text] Frunze—In the first six months of this year 2.6 times more Russians have left the republic than in the whole of 1989. The Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] State Committee for Statistics has reported this.

The trend toward an exodus of people of European nationalities is so clear that it is simply impossible to ignore. A number of public statements by enterprise leaders testify that the national economy is losing highly skilled workers, construction workers, and engineers. There are also appreciable losses in the agrarian sector—Germans are leaving their villages. In all over 34,000 people left Kirghizia in the first six months, and around 18,000 arrived.

What are the reasons? One of the main ones is interethnic tension, the tragic events in Osh Oblast, and also the uncertainty regarding the republic leadership's attitude to the intensifying migration processes.